WHAT IF... NAPOLEON HAD BEEN VICTORIOUS AT WATERLOO?

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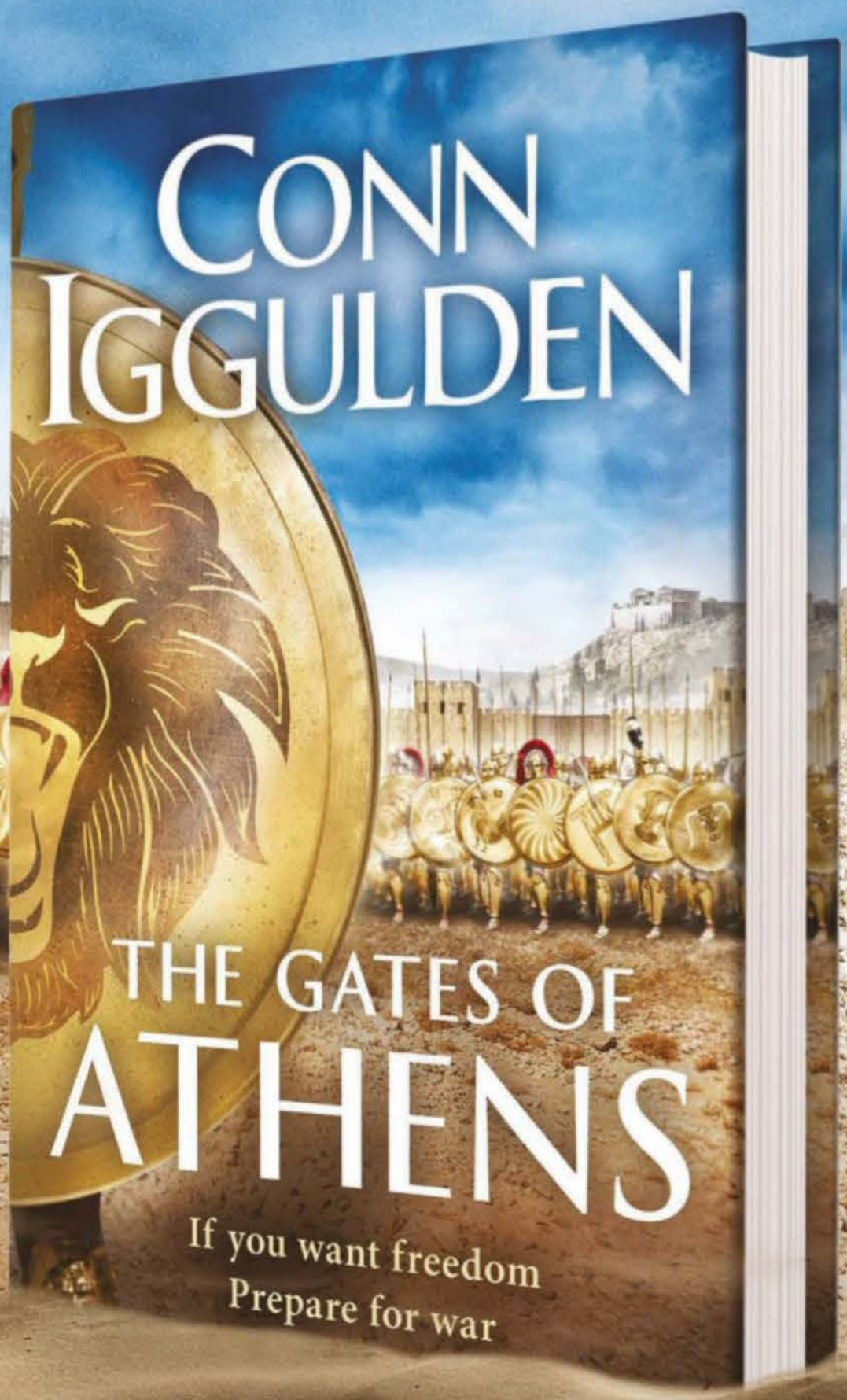

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ConnIgguldenAuthor

WELCOME SEPTEMBER 2020

This 18th-century marble relief depicts Julius Caesar invading Britain

From tyrannical emperors and imperial expansion, to bathing, beauty and daily brutality, the Ancient Romans continue to fascinate and entertain. But **what was it really like to live in Ancient Rome?** This month, we've teamed up with ancient history expert Philip Matyszak to bring you an essential guide to all things Roman. Discover life at all levels of society – from slaves to emperors – and **explore great stories and fascinating facts from one of the world's greatest civilisations**. Turn to page 26 to read more.

Seventy-seven years ago, as World War II raged in Europe and beyond, three brothers from Brazil were embarking on a momentous expedition across the Amazon Rainforest – an adventure known as the Roncador-Xingu Expedition. Discover the incredible journey taken by the Villas-Bôas brothers, the indigenous peoples they encountered, and the enduring legacy of the expedition from page 55.

Elsewhere, we explore the medieval Battle of Poitiers, which saw **the Black Prince lead the English army to a major victory over the French** in the Hundred Years' War (*page 16*); discuss what might have happened had Napoleon emerged victorious at Waterloo in 1815 (*page 70*); and **meet the trailblazing Victorian female detectives** who forged new careers for themselves as private investigators in the 19th century (*page 62*).

We also examine the **devastating World War II siege of Leningrad**, a near 900-day prolonged attack by the German army, which claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Soviet civilians (*page 21*). And we tackle more intriguing historical questions in our Q&A section (*page 73*).

Finally, **don't forget to check out this month's great subscription deals.** Turn to page 24 for more details.

Until next month, stay safe.

Charlotte Hodgman
Editor

THIS MONTH'S BIG NUMBERS

16
The tender age of Edward the Black Prince when he won his victory at the 1346 Battle of Crećy

872
The number of days that the Soviet city of Leningrad was under siege by the Germans

200,000
The number of women who joined Britain's ATS at its peak during WWII

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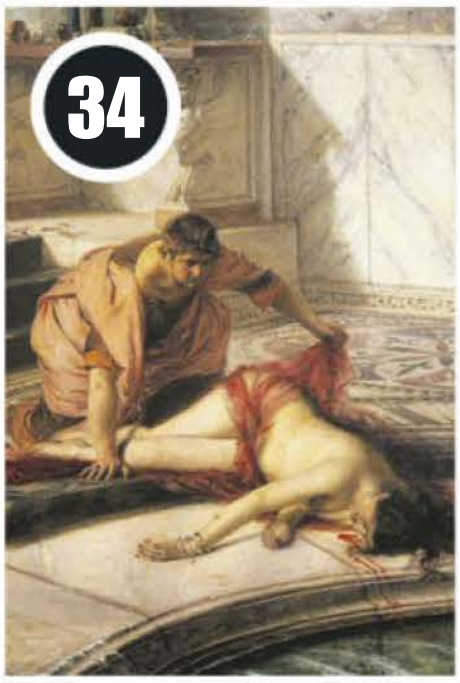

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SNAPSHOTS

1933 WEARING THE TROUSERS

Star of the silver screen Marlene Dietrich was known for subverting traditional gender roles. The German-born actress enjoyed wearing trousers at a time when doing so was still a taboo for women. After she wore a man's suit on board the SS *Europa* en route to France, the head of the Parisian police warned that Dietrich would be arrested if she wore this attire in Paris. Since 1800 it had been illegal for women to wear trousers in the French capital without a permit (a law that was only overturned in 2013). On her arrival, Dietrich defiantly disembarked in a tweed suit and tie, complete with men's coat, beret and sunglasses; the Parisian authorities never followed through with their threat of arrest.

GETTY IMAGES

SNAPSHOTS

1913
BOUND IN CHAINS

During the early 20th century, Mongolia had one of the toughest prison systems in the world. This prison in Ulaanbaatar placed unbearably heavy chains on some of its prisoners. Another practice deployed in the country was immurement, where prisoners would be sealed in confined spaces – akin to coffins – either as a punishment or as a form of execution. Even those not purposely sentenced to die would sometimes perish, succumbing to starvation, dehydration or the freezing cold of Mongolia's sub-zero winters. The practice is also believed to have been used in Ancient Rome, if Vestal Virgins broke their vow of chastity.

ALAMY

GETTY IMAGES

SNAPSHOTS

1948 NAKED SPEED

On 13 September 1948 at the Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah, motorcyclist Roland ‘Rollie’ Free smashed the American motorcycle land speed record. But it wasn’t just his record-breaking speed of 150.313mph that caught everyone’s attention. Free completed the feat in nothing but bathing trunks, a helmet and shoes after his protective leathers had been damaged in previous attempts. To minimise wind resistance, Free lay over the back of the Vincent-HRD motorcycle, resulting in one of motorcycling’s most iconic images.

THINGS WE LEARNED THIS MONTH....

RECENT HISTORY HEADLINES THAT CAUGHT OUR EYE

ANCIENT MINE FOUND IN MEXICO

Underwater divers have uncovered a cave in Mexico that is believed to have been used for mining nearly 11,000 years ago. The Sagitario cave system on the Yucatan Peninsula is thought to have once been mined for ochre, a red pigment that was often used in prehistoric and ancient artwork. This is one of the first archaeological sites found that demonstrates how people extracted these pigments. Evidence of human activity in the cave includes pits, stalactites broken off to use as tools, and piles of rocks used to mark the miners' paths.

SCHOOLGIRL PERFECTED THE SPITFIRE

The little known story of how a schoolgirl helped win World War II is now being told. Hazel Hill was a teenager when her father, who worked for Britain's Air Ministry, asked for her help. He believed that the Spitfires being used by the RAF needed more guns to be successful in battle. He couldn't do the necessary calculations, so turned to his daughter, who was gifted at maths. They designed a plane with eight guns, which was approved by the RAF in time for the Battle of Britain. *The Schoolgirl Who Helped to Win a War* is available to watch now on BBC iPlayer: *bbc.in/30rzWTU*

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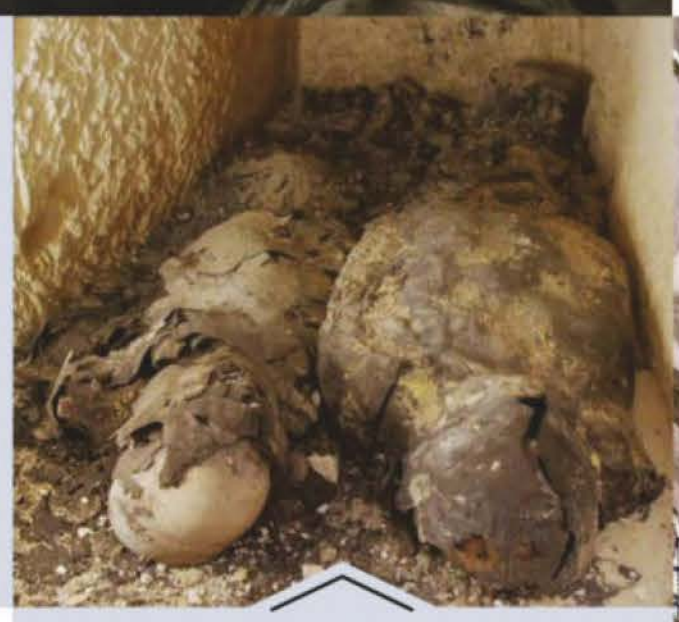
DESTROYED SHRINE OF MEDIEVAL MARTYRED SAINT BROUGHT BACK TO LIFE

The tomb of St Thomas Becket has been digitally reconstructed using CGI. Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral in 1170, and the shrine subsequently built at the site attracted up to 100,000 pilgrims every year. Becket's shrine was destroyed during the Reformation, but researchers at the University of York have now digitally recreated the shrine to how it would have looked in 1408, using witness accounts and artefacts from the cathedral. The reconstruction can be viewed online at *thebecketstory.org.uk*.

LONG-BURIED RUINS OF AN AZTEC PALACE UNEARTHED IN MEXICO

An Aztec palace has been discovered beneath a historic pawn shop in Mexico City. During renovations of the shop, basalt floor slabs were found which are thought to be from the 550 year old palace. The palace belonged to 15th century emperor Axayácatl, who was the father of one of the Aztec Empire's final rulers, Montezuma. After the fall of the Aztec Empire, the palace was taken over by the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés, and evidence suggests he may have built a new house out of materials from the destroyed palace.



HS2 REVEALS IRON AGE MURDER MYSTERY

Construction on the HS2 rail project has unearthed a potential Iron Age murder victim in Buckinghamshire. A male skeleton has been found face down in a ditch on a farm near Wendover, with its hands bound under its pelvis. Archaeologists believe this unusual burial position may suggest this was an execution or murder. Further analysis will hopefully uncover the cause of death. Other finds on the site include a skeleton in a lead lined coffin, and a circular monument made of wooden posts, which appears to be connected to the winter solstice.

ONE STEP CLOSER TO FINDING CLEOPATRA?

The discovery of two skeletons in the Egyptian temple of Taposiris Magna could give fresh hope to archaeologists in the search for the tomb of Cleopatra. The two mummies were of high status and lived around the same time as Cleopatra, highlighting the temple's importance. The location of the Ancient Egyptian queen's final resting place is one of history's greatest mysteries. The site of Cleopatra's royal palace in Alexandria has historically been suggested as her burial site, but the recent finds could indicate that Cleopatra, too, was buried at Taposiris Magna.

1.5 million

The number of official archaeological finds discovered by the public in Britain as of July 2020. The most recent was a 700-year-old Pope's Seal found in Shropshire.

LEFT: **Adam Woolf (*centre*) performs alongside Romina Lischka on viola da gamba (*left*) and Nicolas Achten on theorbo (*right*)**

BELOW: **Woolf says the sackbut is "the shark of the musical world". Its design is remarkably similar to the modern trombone, although in today's instruments the bore of their tubing and bells are larger to make more sound**

DAVID LEGREVE X2, GETTY IMAGES X1

Sackbut player

Adam Woolf

WHAT IS A SACKBUT, AND HOW DOES IT COMPARE TO MODERN INSTRUMENTS?
A sackbut is a type of early trombone. Since its invention in the 15th century, the trombone (sackbut) has hardly changed it's sometimes described as the shark of the musical world. Historically, the sackbut was used alongside or instead of a singer, string instrument or other wind instrument. It was flexible enough to play in soft ensembles with lutes and flutes as well as louder wind ensembles that played outdoors or in large cathedrals.

HOW DID YOU BEGIN PLAYING IT?
I studied as a trombonist at the Royal Academy of Music in London. The great thing about playing the trombone is that our repertoire is the oldest and broadest of all modern instruments and covers virtually every musical style. We had access to all sorts of instruments at the Academy and were encouraged to try everything.

I was already very keen on jazz and became fascinated with its similarities to early Baroque music: the freedom of interpretation, aspects of improvisation and very personal approaches that musicians of both disciplines seemed to take.

ARE SACKBUTS STILL MADE TODAY?
Yes. The instruments that we use today are copies of surviving originals from approximately 1550 1650. They are also hand built to order and created by one of four or five makers in Europe. These artisans still use a range of historical manufacturing techniques and have usually studied as apprentices with established instrument builders.

WHEN WAS THE HEYDAY OF THE SACKBUT, AND HOW POPULAR WAS IT?
In the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, the sackbut was one of the most popular and respected instruments across Europe. Its versatility it could be played in any musical context, be it loud or soft, big or small and its ability to play the entire range of the human voice made it an incredibly flexible instrument.

Created from precious materials and often played by foreign musicians, the instruments were seen as status symbols. By the 1530s, court records of Henry VIII show regular payments

The sackbut was just one of the many, now almost-forgotten, instruments that formed the medieval era

being made to a dozen sackbut players (none of them English). And at the turn of the 17th century, in Venice, Giovanni Gabrieli composed music specifying the use of ten sackbuts or more.

WHY DID IT FALL OUT OF FASHION?
Musical fashions changed as string and other wind instruments developed, and musical styles started to move in the direction of the string orchestra. Virtuosic violinists such as Vivaldi were writing their own music and showcasing their own instruments; as the musical sound world changed, the sackbut's musical role became somewhat diminished.

But it never completely stopped being played: town bands and religious institutions employed sackbut players throughout the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries. The 18th century saw the sackbut featured as an *obbligato* (or essential) instrument in several works. Moreover, its use in operas and oratorios was not unusual, although this was usually as a reference to the Church (especially Old Testament texts), or death and the underworld (such as in Beethoven's *Equali*).

> "By playing old repertoire on the instruments for which they were conceived, you can make even the most familiar piece feel new again"

WHAT'S THE APPEAL OF PLAYING A PERIOD INSTRUMENT?
Discovering a different sound world. The way that the sackbut functions in an ensemble makes much more sense of the orchestration and its role. Playing period instruments also lets us explore the various geographic personalities of the sackbut. Many composers knew the instrument but in very different guises, and they wrote for it as such. The sackbut as known by French composer Berlioz is vastly different in sound than that of the German Brahms, for instance. This means we, as players, can play loud, strident passages, creating tension and excitement (usually) without drowning out the whole orchestra, and quiet passages can retain a level of focus and detail that's harder to achieve using modern instruments.

DO YOU PREFER PLAYING PERIOD PIECES OR MODERN COMPOSITIONS?
This one's hard to answer. By playing old repertoire on the instruments for which they were conceived, you can make even the most familiar piece feel new again. There are also some modern day composers who write very well for historical instruments, blending the colourful characteristics and personalities of historical instruments with a modern musical vocabulary. Martyn Harry's *At His Majesty's Pleasure* (2012), written for the UK's pioneering early brass group, His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, is a perfect example of this.

ARE THERE ANY OTHER PERIOD INSTRUMENTS THAT YOU FANCY TRYING?
Having tried some other early Baroque wind instruments, I can safely say that the trombone is more than enough of an adventure for me! That said, I'd like to play early guitars and lutes, because I love harmony, as well as explore viols.

Of course, there's also the most historical instrument of all the singing voice – and I'd love to improve mine!

ADAM WOOLF is a sackbut player and a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Music in London. He teaches at the Royal Conservatoire of Brussels

The English triumph at the Battle of Poitiers

Early in the morning of 19 September 1356, the thunder of hoofbeats rang out close to the French town of Poitiers. Some 300 mounted knights were charging uphill, stampeding towards the English forces. The English were ranged behind a hedgerow that stretched across the top of the slope, accessible only by a small gap in the foliage. The sound of hoofbeats grew even more frantic; the knights spurred their mounts into a gallop as they flew towards the hedgerow.

When the knights were close enough to make out figures through the gap in the leaves, the whine of arrows filled the air. The skilled archers loosed a barrage of deadly arrows from their longbows. Any knights who survived the onslaught were bundled down from their horses and butchered, or else kept as prisoners to be ransomed. Of course, the most famous prisoner from the battle taken into English custody later that day was the French monarch, King John II. With France's army defeated and its king imprisoned, the battle was a resounding success for the English and another impressive victory for their commander, Edward, King Edward III's 26 year old son and the heir to the English throne a man better known today as the Black Prince.

The Battle of Poitiers was part of a string of military engagements known as the Hundred Years' War: a conflict that saw generations of English and French soldiers dying at one another's hands on a plethora of bloodsoaked battlefields. Prompted in part by rival claims concerning who was the legitimate heir to the French crown, first blood came on 24 May 1337, when French king Philip VI seized the English held duchy of Guyenne. Ten years later, fighting came to a brief halt when a truce was agreed. This ceasefire came to an end, however, in 1355, when agreeing to a lasting peace treaty proved impossible.

The effigy on the Black Prince's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral shows him as a warlord in full mail

Edward III ruled for 50 years, restoring both royal authority and England's military power

As relations between the two nations deteriorated once more, Edward III and two of his sons sailed across the Channel to wreak havoc on France. Edward (unsuccessfully) raided northern France, his son John of Gaunt attacked Normandy and the Black Prince swept out from the southwestern province of Aquitaine to raid central France.

> "The Black Prince had triumphed at Crécy in 1346 at the tender age of 16"

For weeks before the Battle of Poitiers, the English heir conducted a second, scorched earth campaign. His army comprised of both English soldiers commanded by Sir John Chandos and Gascons commanded by Jean III de Grailly, Captal de Buch was modestly sized, with approximately 4,000 knights, 4,000 mounted cavalry, 3,000 archers and 1,000 infantry. However, the force certainly proved large enough to lay waste to the region's undefended towns.

Under the Black Prince's direction, they plundered wantonly, burning buildings and slaughtering inhabitants. Sir John Wingfield, who was present during the campaign, confessed to the bishop of Winchester in a letter that "there was never such loss nor destruction as hath been in this raid".

News of the Black Prince's terrible attacks reached the French king John II, who promptly crossed the Loire with his army to challenge the English invaders. The Black Prince's forces were rather meagre in comparison to the French, and he attempted to evade them by marching his troops south although his progress was hampered by the sluggish English baggage train. On 18 September, John's army caught up with the English three miles east of the town of Poitiers. After

ALAMY X2, GETTY IMAGES X2

The clash at Poitiers was catastrophic for the French nobility, with many of those not slain taken prisoner at the battle's climax

peace talks between the two leaders broke down, battle was joined in earnest.

QUICK TO THE POINT

The Black Prince was experienced in warfare he'd triumphed at Crécy in 1346 at the tender age of 16 and he picked his position at Poitiers with care. He arranged his line on a hill, with a nearby marsh protecting the troops from any enemies coming from the west. To guard against potential attacks from the east, he set up his wagons in an impromptu blockade along his army's right flank. To the front, a hedge shielded the English: it was punctured by a single gap, which was small enough to allow only a handful of mounted knights through at a time.

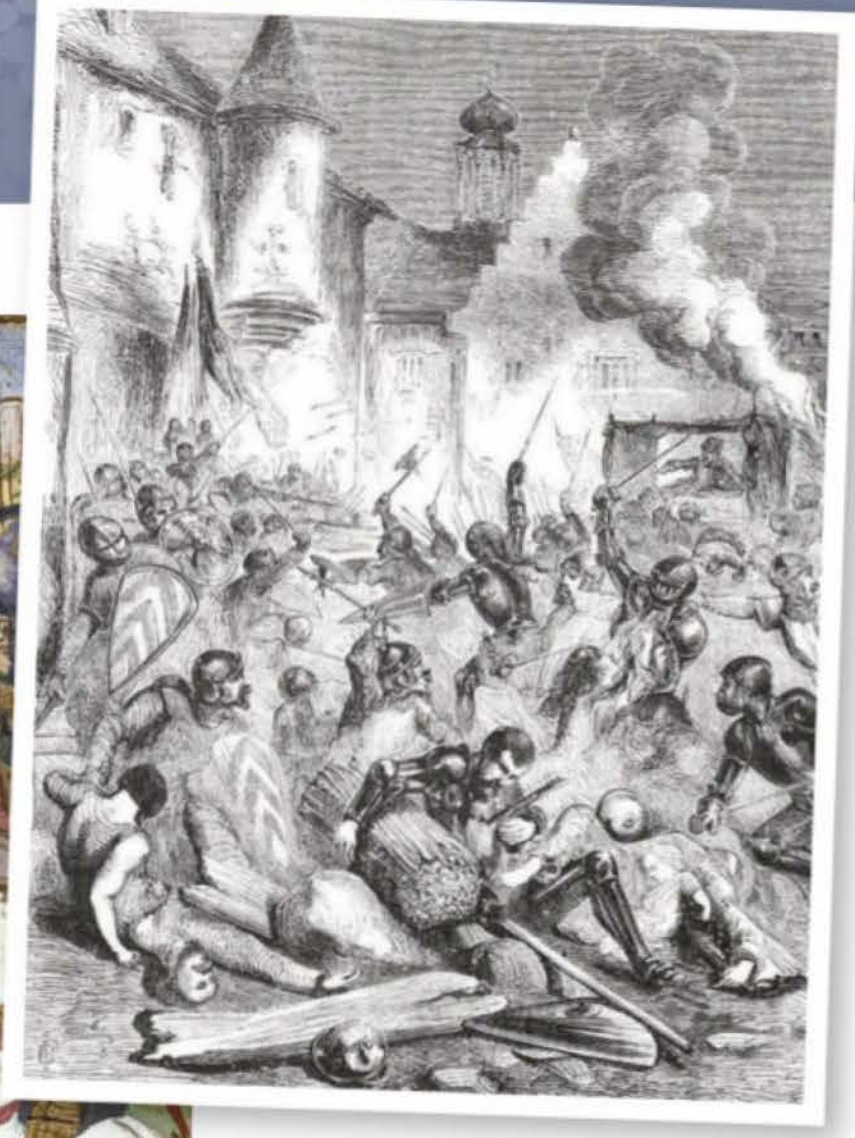
Although the Black Prince had picked his position well, he still clearly had doubts as to whether his forces would be able to stave off an attack from the French: in the early hours of 19 September, he tried to flee. However, the French got wind of his plan and attacked.

The Black Prince hastily arranged his archers – each equipped with fearsome six-foot-long yew bows – behind the hedge and commanded the majority of his troops to fight on foot rather than on horseback. The French army – split into four divisions, each numbering around 10,000 men – had elected to fight mostly on foot, too. Only around 300 men of the first division that rushed the English were mounted. The Black Prince's position proved excellent: the English archers loosed their arrows when the French approached the hedgerow, knocking many of the assailants from their mounts, and then butchering them in brutal hand-to-hand combat. In the ensuing melee, the crossbowmen who had marched behind the mounted knights had no opportunity to fire their own arrows: they too were struck down by the English.

The 1346 Battle of Crécy as depicted in Jean Froissart's Chronicles – the battle at which the Black Prince "won his spurs"

THIS MONTH... 1356

ANNIVERSARIES THAT HAVE MADE HISTORY



ABOVE: **Limoges had been a centre of enamel production – an industry effectively ended for a century after the Black Prince sacked the city**

LEFT: **French king John II – also known as John the Good – is taken prisoner after the battle of Poitiers**

The second division, commanded by the Dauphin, Charles, then headed up the hill to face the Black Prince. Although they came close to breaking through the English line, they too were driven back when the Black Prince brought his reserves into the field. The third division never made it to the hedge: frightened by the fate of their compatriots and met by retreating soldiers of the second division, they fell back in a state of confusion.

King John himself marched with the fourth and final division on the English army. Bolstered by survivors from the second and third divisions, the remainder of the French force was a formidable prospect indeed. Wave after wave of walking knights and men-at-arms marched on the hedgerow, preparing to deliver a death blow to the English.

PRINCE TAKES KING

However, the Black Prince was playing a rather different game. Having interpreted the retreat of the second and third divisions as a signal that the battle was over, he had instructed a group of knights to find their mounts and chase after the fleeing French on horseback. When it became clear that the French still planned to fight, the Black Prince at the urging of Sir John Chandos improvised and changed his battle plan. Rather than continuing to fight primarily from the ground, he directed his knights to mount their steeds and battle the oncoming French from the saddle.

> "Scores of French aristocrats were taken prisoner, as were around a hundred other important knights"

As King John and his men continued to climb the slope, the mounted English soldiers swarmed out from the hedgerow and descended upon the unsuspecting French. The archers, whose supplies of arrows had dwindled during the earlier bouts of fighting, abandoned their bows and picked up mean-looking daggers and fighting hammers, pelting down the hill to join in the fray.

Met by this wave of mounted English knights, the French army broke apart, with many fleeing the battlefield. A group of deserters headed to Poitiers itself, only to be butchered outside the city gates by pursuing English forces. Others stayed on the battlefield, but rather than fighting the English until the bloody end, many opted to surrender.

King John and his son Philip were in the latter camp: encircled by the Black Prince's forces, the French monarch eventually capitulated to the English. Both he and his son were taken prisoner, as well as scores of French aristocrats and around a hundred other important knights.

By all accounts, the French king was treated impeccably while he was kept prisoner. For instance, according to the medieval chronicler Jean Froissart, on the evening after the battle, the Black Prince summoned John and Philip to his silken tent for a banquet in the French king's honour – while the blood of John's fallen soldiers still dried on the battlefield.

GETTY IMAGES X5, ALAMY X1

John was treated with similar honour when he was imprisoned in England. Although he was confined to the Tower of London, he was permitted to keep pets and horses, as well as an astrologer and even his own musical troupe. However, the king's capture and subsequent imprisonment had devastating consequences in France.

The country was ruled by the Dauphin, Charles, who had escaped Poitiers with his life. With the monarch missing, France was rocked by revolts and disorder, as the Dauphin desperately campaigned to raise money so that he could continue to fight the English and pay for the safe return of his father.

Eventually, after his countrymen paid a staggering ransom of three million crowns, John was able to return to his native France. He didn't stay in his kingdom for long, though: when one of the English hostages (John's own son) escaped, the king returned to England to take his place as a prisoner.

BLACK AT HEART?

While John's life post Poitiers was marked by incarceration, the Black Prince worked hard to expand the legacy of military might that he had begun building on the battlefield. In 1367, he helmed an expedition to Spain to assist the fallen King Pedro of Castile, who wished to retake his rightful place on the throne. The Black Prince's decisive victory on 3 April at the Battle of Najera in northern Castile further solidified his standing as a skilled commander. However, his reputation was besmirched several years later, when he besieged the city of Limoges in 1370. When the city finally fell, it was viciously sacked. Froissart claimed 3,000 residents were massacred; other chroniclers suggest the casualties were around 300.

Even in death, the Black Prince sought to preserve his image as a military man. Before he died in 1376, he left orders for his tomb to be built at Canterbury Cathedral with a resplendent brass statue depicting him as a knight clad in armour, his weapons and shield artfully arranged over his resting place. And, although questions concerning the villainy of some of his actions still swirl around the Black Prince particularly the siege of Limoges and his extensive raiding of France in 1355 the Battle of Poitiers is still remembered as one of England's greatest victories over France; the day when the English heir captured the French king.

SEPTEMBER ANNIVERSARIES

A LOOK BACK AT FOUR OTHER EVENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN SEPTEMBERS THROUGHOUT HISTORY

September 1911

TOO COOL FOR SCHOOL

Pupils across England down their pencils and flout their teachers' instructions, marching through the streets. Their demands included attendance payments, shorter hours and free pencils. The movement spread to 62 towns.

18 September AD 96

CLOAK AND DAGGER

The Roman Emperor Domitian is stabbed in the groin by his servant, Stephanus, as part of a plot masterminded by the aristocracy. Stephanus stabbed him multiple times with a dagger that he had concealed in bandages for several days.

9 September 1938

WOMEN AT WAR

A royal warrant establishes a female branch of the British Army called the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS). At its peak, some 200,000 women served in its ranks, working in a diverse range of roles, from cooks to radar operators. Queen Elizabeth II was a member before her coronation.

2 September 1666

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A spark from an oven in Thomas Farriner's Pudding Lane bakery ignites an almighty blaze that spreads throughout London over the span of several days. The Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bloodworth, was slow to act, and the out-of-control fire caused massive destruction: more than 13,000 houses were burned.

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The Siege of Leningrad

Words: Emma Slattery Williams

WHAT WAS THE SIEGE OF LENINGRAD?

Between 8 September 1941 and 27 January 1944, the Soviet city of Leningrad was cut off from the rest of the Soviet Union and suffered bombardment as well as a military blockade by Nazi forces. Lasting for 872 days, it was one of the longest sieges in history, as well as one of the most brutal periods of World War II.

WHERE IS LENINGRAD, AND HOW DID THE CITY GET ITS NAME?

The city of Leningrad now known by its original name of St Petersburg is a port city on the Baltic Sea in what is now Russia. It was founded by Tsar Peter I, who established the city in the early 18th century and named it for his patron saint, the apostle Saint Peter. At the outbreak of World War I, its name was deemed too German, so it became Petrograd. In 1924, the city's name was changed again: this time to Leningrad, to commemorate the death of Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin. This remained the case until 1991, when the name of St Petersburg was restored following a public referendum.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE LEAD-UP TO THE SIEGE?

On 22 June 1941, more than three million German soldiers launched a surprise attack on the Soviet border, breaking a pact of non aggression between Germany and the Soviet Union that had been signed in 1939. Operation Barbarossa the codename for the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union was planned as a 'war of annihilation', with millions of Soviet citizens predicted to be killed and millions more enslaved. The Nazis hoped that the Soviet land they seized would provide Lebensraum (living space) for the German people. Hitler also believed that if the Soviet Union was taken out of the equation, then Britain would be forced to surrender, and he would win the war.

Initially the invasion was a success, and three million Soviet prisoners were captured by the Germans. But the harsh winter prevented Hitler from taking Moscow in December 1941 and didn't give him the swift victory he wanted. The Wehrmacht's Army Group North however, had headed for Leningrad the base of the Baltic fleet, and a key industrial area.

HOW DID THE SIEGE BEGIN?

On 31 August the town of Mga was captured, severing Leningrad's railway connection with the outside world. A week later, another town this one containing the last road into the city was under Nazi control. The majority of Leningrad's population had been set to work constructing anti tank fortifications and digging trenches.

Some of the city's more vulnerable civilians were evacuated, but more than 2.5 million people remained. Leningrad was swiftly surrounded by German troops and their Finnish allies. Hitler gave the order that any request of surrender was to be ignored, as feeding the city's population would be too

> "Hitler gave the order that any request of surrender was to be ignored – the city was going to be starved out"

Two German soldiers monitor ongoing attacks on the Soviet defences

Residents of Leningrad flee their bomb-damaged homes

GETTY IMAGES X2

In a burning village on the outskirts of Leningrad, German soldiers sort through the belongings left by retreating Soviets

much work – he planned to starve them out. By the time this message reached the troops, they had already launched bombing raids on the city, destroying vital food stores early on and terrorising the city's inhabitants.

The people of Leningrad weren't expected to last as long as they did – it was thought that starvation would bring them to their knees within a few weeks. Many of the city's people were starving and desperate when the German forces arrived and had already suffered through bombing raids. But sheer determination, likely coupled with the fear of falling into German hands, prevented the city's inhabitants from giving up.

WHAT WAS LIFE LIKE FOR LENINGRAD'S INHABITANTS DURING THE SIEGE?

The siege caught the city by surprise, and Leningrad only had enough food supplies to last about two months. It didn't take long for extreme hunger to set in. By November, supplies were so low that food was rationed to 250g a day for manual workers and just 150g for everyone else. Sawdust was added to bread to bulk it out and make it more filling, and when a warehouse containing sugar was destroyed by bombing, people dug into the earth to try and extract it.

As the siege went on, the city's starving inhabitants turned to desperate measures. Anything, from petroleum jelly and wallpaper paste to pigeons, was eaten. Eventually all the animals in the city were killed for food. Human corpses littered the streets as inhabitants succumbed to starvation, and some resorted to wretched acts in order to stay alive; by December 1942, 2,105 people had been arrested for cannibalism. There were also incidents of murder to steal ration cards. Some people, feeling that their situation was hopeless, took their own lives, and parents had to make terrible decisions about which child or grandparent could eat.

The Soviet Red Army attempted to get supplies into the city, but many trucks were bombed before they reached Leningrad. The only access was across the ice road on Lake Ladoga, known as the Road of Life, which could only be used when the lake was completely frozen over. In early 1942, 500,000 people were evacuated across the ice road, but food was still scarce for those left behind. Those who managed to escape the city were still at risk from bombings or of succumbing to starvation or illness.

Temperatures dropped to minus 40°C during the bitter winters of the siege. With limited electricity and no heat, anything that wasn't essential was burnt for warmth – from rare books and paintings to floorboards and antique furniture. Soviet officials kept the rest of the country in the dark about how dire the situation in Leningrad really was, and they also heavily implied that a Soviet victory was imminent. Many of those besieged constantly thought that they were on the brink of liberation.

However, in January 1943, the Soviets

Paltry food rations (*right*) offered little in the way of sustenance, so the city's inhabitants turned to eating any animals they could find, including horses (*above*), as well as cannibalism in a desperate attempt to stay alive

GETTY IMAGES X4

The dead were taken to the city's outskirts – where men were given extra rations to lay them to rest

successfully wrestled some land back from the Nazis. They subsequently built a railway and got precious food and supplies into the city. Many of Leningrad's factories began producing machinery and ammunition again.

More than 800,000 civilians died during the siege, with some historians putting the total number of deaths, civilian and military, at nearer 1.5 million. The lack of Soviet wartime records has led to disputes over the actual number of Soviet deaths. If correct, the 1.5 million figure is higher than the number of deaths for US and UK soldiers combined over the duration of World War II.

HOW WAS THE SIEGE LIFTED?

By early 1944, 1.25 million men had been mobilised into the Red Army – which boasted 1,600 tanks – and the Germans were finally overrun. Led by General Leonid Govorov, a Soviet offensive pushed the Germans westward, away from the city.

Finally, after more than 800 days under siege, Leningrad was free. There were celebrations on the streets and vodka flowed generously, but for most, the losses had been too much. Before the Germans had left, they had looted and damaged many of prestigious buildings in the vicinity of Leningrad, including the lavish Catherine and Peterhof Palaces.

> "Sheer determination, likely coupled with the fear of falling into the hands of the Germans, prevented the city's inhabitants from giving up"

HOW DID THE REST OF THE SOVIET UNION FARE DURING THE WAR?

Some Soviet-occupied Baltic states viewed the German invasion as a reprieve from Stalin and initially welcomed the change in regime. However, many atrocities were committed throughout the Soviet Union and beyond, with Communists and Jews especially targeted. SS death squads, known as *Einsatzgruppen*, undertook mass killings across German-occupied Europe. Babi Yar in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev was the site of a Jewish massacre which saw more than 30,000 people killed in just two days.

The Battle of Stalingrad, fought between August 1942 and February 1943, signalled the beginning of the process of turning the Germans back and allowing the Soviets to regain territory.

WHAT WAS THE AFTERMATH OF THE SIEGE?

The Soviet Union's strict censorship kept many of the horrific details of the siege a secret until the end of the 20th century. Leningrad became a Hero City for withstanding the siege – along with 11 other cities, including Stalingrad and Moscow, which both saw heavy fighting.

It took Leningrad years to rebuild, yet the horrors of the siege still lingered in the memories of those who had lived through it. Funds were allocated to restore the city to its former glory and to build a museum to commemorate the siege. But the museum was closed in 1948, and many exhibits were destroyed after Stalin purged Leningrad's leading officials. It would not reopen for 40 years, meaning that much of the horrors of the siege were kept behind closed doors.

Today, the event is remembered every year on 27 January, when ceremonies and military parades take place across St Petersburg to commemorate the siege and honour the people who lost their lives during it.

BBC WORLD SERVICE

Explore the siege of Leningrad through archive footage and eyewitness accounts in an episode of *Witness History*. bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01pz6yy

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YOUR ESSENTIAL GUIDE TO THE ROMANS

It's hard to imagine Rome as it began – a small town on the banks of the Tiber, at a best guess founded in 753 BC – such is the lasting shadow it has cast across the world. At its height, the empire that bloomed from the Eternal City boasted some 50 million people and stretched from the Iberian Peninsula to Northern Africa and Mesopotamia, making it one of the greatest powers in world history.

Today, the Romans and the world they lived in are a source of endless fascination – from the intricacies of daily life (why were they so obsessed with bathing?) and the pantheon of gods and goddesses they worshipped, to the visceral delights of gladiatorial games and a colourful cast of political leaders – not to mention the panoply of despots, murderers and tyrants.

Over the next 26 pages, we'll be exploring some of the biggest questions surrounding the culture and workings of the Roman Republic and the Empire that followed. What was so good about being a Roman citizen, for instance? What was a Vestal Virgin? And how many Roman emperors actually died of natural causes? Turn the page to begin a story that spans almost a thousand years....

28 The Roman Republic
Democracy, politics and power games explored

34 The Roman Empire
Its rise and fall, notable emperors and the adoption of Christianity

40 What the Romans did for us
Five things we have to thank Roman ingenuity for in the 21st century

42 Slavery in Ancient Rome
They weren't always in chains, but much of Roman society was powered by enslaved people

44 Food and drink
Five dining table staples – but what about fast food?

45 Housing and hygiene
Explore the Roman fascination with baths, plus take a tour of a country villa

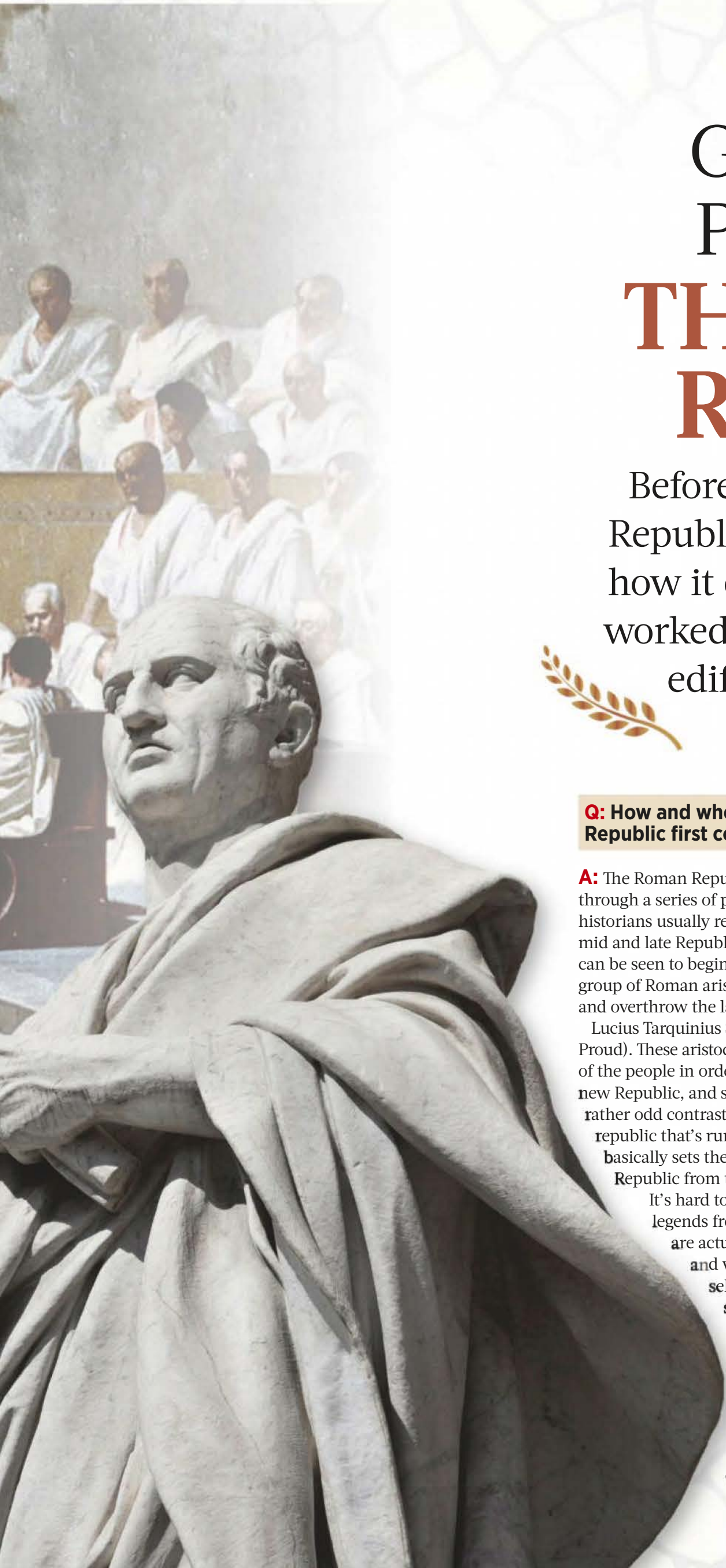
48 Religion and worship
Who were the gods and goddesses of Roman culture – and how important were they to daily life?

50 The might of the Roman Army
Much of Rome's expansion was powered by its fearsome army – but what made the Roman military machine so successful?

52 Leisure and relaxation
What did Romans do to unwind? Turns out they weren't all that different to us when it came to having fun...

The great orator Cicero (*immortalised in stone, right*) served as consul in 63 BC – here he's delivering the first of his Catiline Orations – in which he accuses senator Lucius Sergius Catilina of plotting to overthrow the Senate

ALAMY X1, GETTY IMAGES X1



POWER GAMES AND POLITICS IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Before the Empire, there was the Republic. **Philip Matyszak** explains how it came about, how the Senate worked, and why the whole mighty edifice came crashing down

INTERVIEW BY CHARLOTTE HODGMAN

Q: How and when did the Roman Republic first come about?

A: The Roman Republic actually goes through a series of phases, which historians usually refer to as the early, mid and late Republic. The early Republic can be seen to begin in 509 BC, when a group of Roman aristocrats get together and overthrow the last king of Rome Lucius Tarquinius Superbus (Tarquin the Proud). These aristocrats need the support of the people in order to maintain this new Republic, and so we end up with a rather odd contrast of a democratic republic that's run by aristocrats. This basically sets the tone for the Roman Republic from then on.

It's hard to tell which Roman legends from the early Republic are actually based in fact, and which are essentially self aggrandising stories made up by the Romans to convince themselves about their own history later on. But by the time we get to the mid Republic, which is basically about the time of the Punic Wars [a trio of wars fought between Rome and Carthage from 264 BC–146 BC], we start getting what you could call verifiable history. And, of course, in some parts of the late Republic, thanks to people like Cicero, we can actually almost follow events from day to day. This means we have a clear idea of how the Republic operated and what its constitutional functions were.

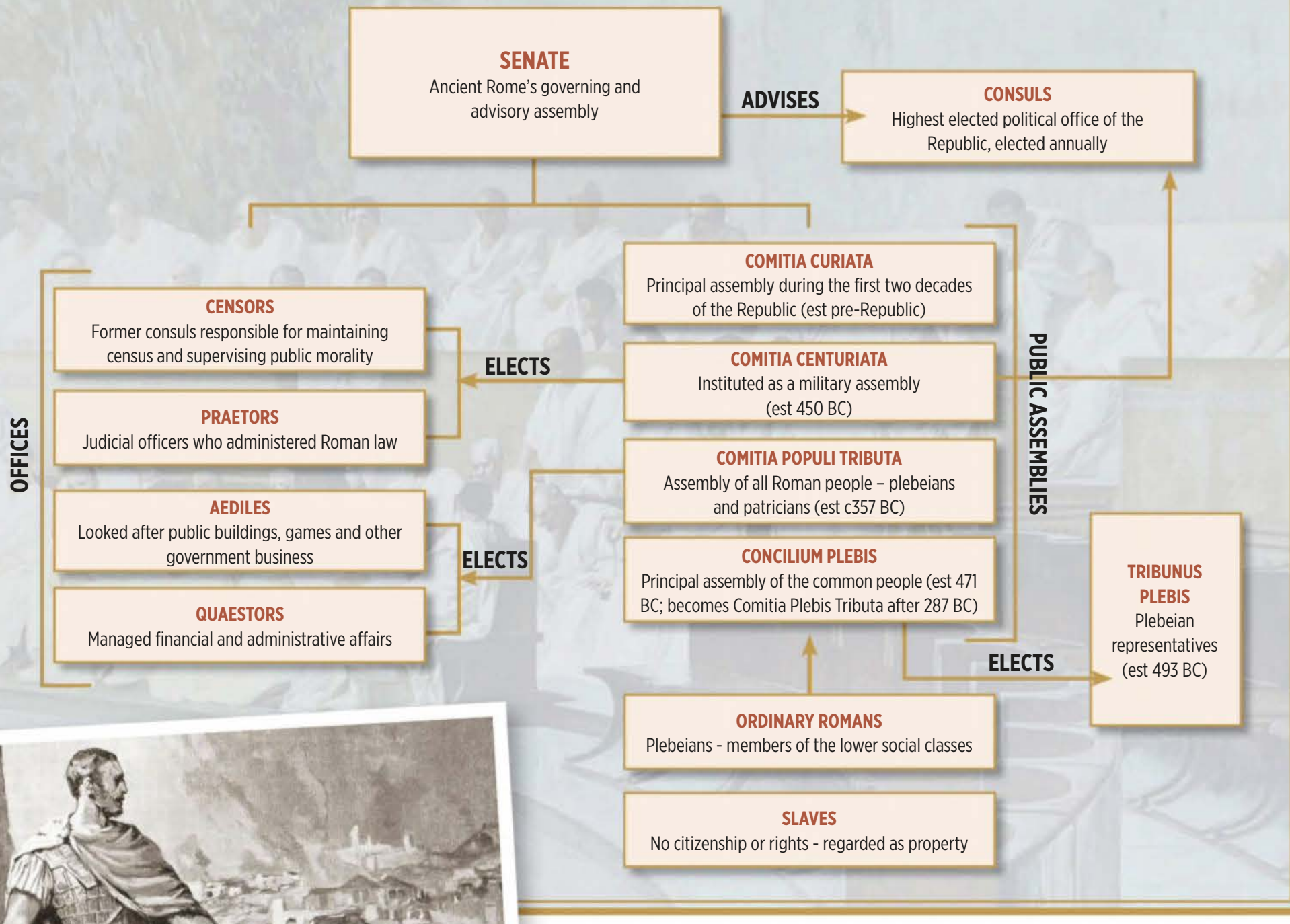
Q: How was the Republic structured?

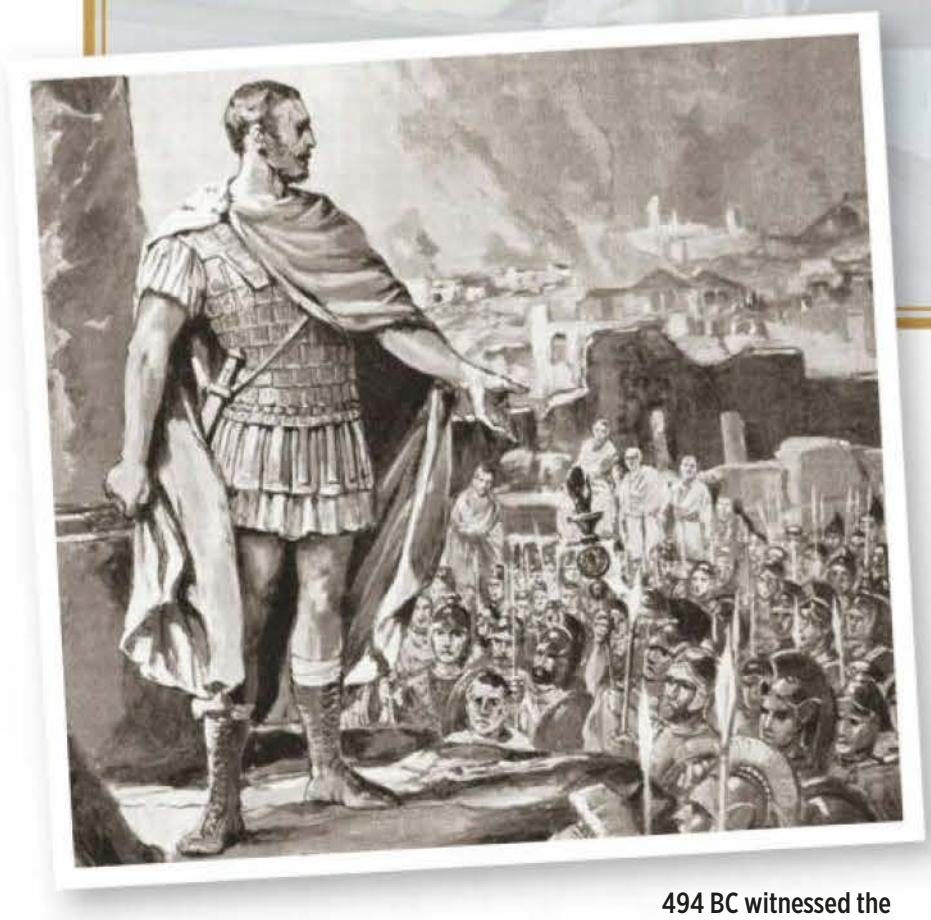
A: Well, you had the Senate – in theory not a legislative, but a purely consultative body – which actually ran the show, and was comprised of men from the aristocratic (patrician) class. And you also have a lot of democratic forums that, as the Republic evolves, become more meaningless. The highest positions of government were held by two *consuls* who were themselves elected from the Senate, and it was the Senate that passed the laws.

But the early Republic experienced huge issues of social strife – known as the Conflict of the Orders – and a political struggle as 'ordinary' Romans (plebeians) struggled with the patricians for political equality. Reconciling the dual goals of ▶

POWER FOR THE PEOPLE?

The Republic was governed on democratic principles, though that doesn't mean everyone had a say...


SENATE
Ancient Rome's governing and advisory assembly
ADVISES
CONSULS
Highest elected political office of the Republic, elected annually
OFFICES
CENSORS
Former consuls responsible for maintaining census and supervising public morality
PRAETORS
Judicial officers who administered Roman law
AEDILES
Looked after public buildings, games and other government business
QUAESTORS
Managed financial and administrative affairs
ELECTS
ELECTS
COMITIA CURIATA
Principal assembly during the first two decades of the Republic (est pre-Republic)
COMITIA CENTURIATA
Instituted as a military assembly (est 450 BC)
COMITIA POPULI TRIBUTA
Assembly of all Roman people – plebeians and patricians (est c357 BC)
CONCILIUM PLEBIS
Principal assembly of the common people (est 471 BC; becomes Comitia Plebis Tributa after 287 BC)
PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES
ELECTS
TRIBUNUS PLEBIS
Plebeian representatives (est 493 BC)
ORDINARY ROMANS
Plebeians - members of the lower social classes
SLAVES
No citizenship or rights - regarded as property



494 BC witnessed the first *secessio plebis* – a general strike in which the plebeians ceased working; it led to creation of the role of the *tribuni plebis*, the first political posts open to their class

these two sections of Roman society is probably the defining feature of the early Republic.

Q: What was the difference between plebeians and patricians?

A: Patricians were, if you like, the original aristocratic class of Rome, and had certain ranks in the Roman aristocracy that were reserved only for them. They got married by particular religious rites, which were separate from those of the general population, and they tended to represent the top families in Rome. This is only really true of the early Republic, though. In the later Republic, the plebeians started to gain more rights.

Q: How did the Senate operate?

A: The Romans had something which they called the *Cursus Honorum*, meaning 'course of honour' this meant you started at the bottom as a *quaestor*, the most junior member of the Senate.

A quaestor's role tended to be looking after the financial affairs of a Roman general in the field, supervising the treasury, or some sort of administrative role in financial matters. After this, you could move up the ladder a bit, depending if you were a pleb or a patrician. The next step up was to become an *aedile* – these were the people who staged the Roman Games, looked after public buildings and the regulation of things like restaurants, taverns and brothels. By the 5th-century BC, the roles of *tribuni plebis* (tribunes of the plebeians) had been introduced; their job was essentially to represent and protect the plebeian class – it was the first political position to be open to the plebeians.

Other roles included the *praetors*, whose job was partly legal – an urban praetor, for example, would have been in charge of keeping law and order in the city. Praetors could also take charge of military affairs if a consul was away fighting, which they often were. And then we get to the consuls themselves and this was, of course, the

Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus records Roman citizens in the 115 BC census

rank that every Roman patrician was gunning for.

Consuls were, by and large, war leaders; a consul would come in, get elected, sort out legislative affairs in his first few months, and then take his army out and try to conquer somebody. Two consuls were elected each year with each able to veto the other the rule of Roman government was that if people couldn't get on then nothing could happen at all.

Then, every five years, two *censors* were elected. This was a job normally given to an older, experienced politician who had been through the mill. His job was firstly, as the name suggests, to keep a count of the number of Roman citizens. But secondly, he was also in charge of the morals of the state.

It was the censor's job, for instance, to throw out any senators who exhibited 'unbecoming' conduct. Cato the Elder, who was elected to the censorship in 184 BC, famously threw out a man for kissing his wife in front of his daughter. That's perhaps a rather extreme example, but it's from trying to prevent this kind of a lascivious behaviour that we get the modern word censorship. Censors also oversaw aspects of state financing, including major contracts.

"Two consuls were elected each year with each able to veto the other – the rule of government was that if people couldn't get on then nothing could happen at all"

Q: How did the actions of the Senate affect the average Roman citizen?

A: Roman law is the edifice upon which most European law has been built, and was based upon a very early set of laws known as The Twelve Tables (*see page 33*). These were 12 statutes which formed the basis for the laws accumulated over the years.

Despite its bloody reputation, Roman society was in some ways very civilised particularly in the city of Rome. There was a rule, for example, that stated a butcher was not to go more than three steps away from his stall while holding a knife. And an actor could sue his audience for injury to his feelings while booing. So plebeians did actually have a great deal of legal protection. The problem was that Rome had what we might call a strong society and a weak state.

Scythian philosopher Anacharsis summed it up nicely when he said: "Laws are spiderwebs, which catch the little flies, but cannot hold the big ones." So, Roman laws were good at containing ordinary Roman citizens, but the rich and powerful could brush through them as though they didn't exist.

Q: How did women fit into the Roman Republic?

A: When we look at the role of women, there are two things to bear in mind. The first is that Rome was an intensely patriarchal and militaristic society. The other, is that it's evident from what we know of Roman history, that women bought into this pretty much 100 per cent; there just isn't a feminist movement in Rome. Roman wives were meant to be virtuous, obedient and produce the next generation of Romans.

Although there are some signs that not all Roman woman fitted so neatly into that picture Hortensia, daughter of the 1st-century BC Roman orator Quintus

GETTY IMAGES X2

IDEALISM TO DICTATORSHIP

Five key dates in the five and a half centuries from the last king to first emperor

509 BC

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last king of Rome, is overthrown in an uprising led by his own nephew, Lucius Junius Brutus. The king goes into exile and a republic is established, with Brutus as one of its first consuls.

451-50 BC

A struggle between the patricians (ruling class) and the plebeians ('common' people) results in the introduction of the Law of the Twelve Tables (*see p33*), designed to protect the legal, social, and civil rights of Roman citizens.

264 – 146 BC

A series of three conflicts – known as the Punic Wars – are fought between the Roman Republic and the Carthaginian (Punic) Empire. The Third Punic War (fought between 149–146 BC) saw Carthage defeated, the city destroyed and its territory – about 5,000 square miles – become a Roman province under the name of Africa Proconsularis.

95 BC

The *Lex Licinia Mucia* is passed, a law ordering the 'investigation' of Latin and Italian allies on Rome citizen rolls – and allowing the prosecution of anyone found to be falsely claiming Roman citizenship. The law is held as a major cause of the devastating Social War of 91-88 BC.

44 BC

Roman dictator Julius Caesar is assassinated at the Theatre of Pompey, in a bid by more than 60 high-ranking Romans to restore the power of the Senate. His death triggers a series of civil wars that will eventually see Caesar's great-nephew Octavian become Augustus, Rome's first emperor.

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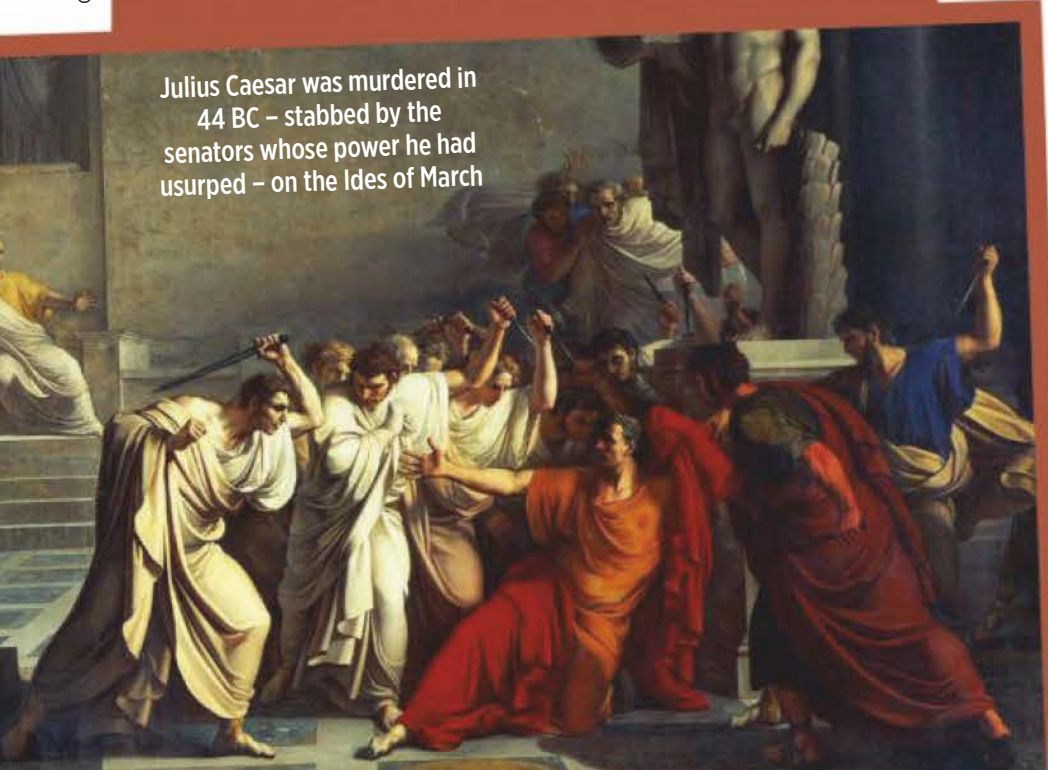


Julius Caesar was murdered in 44 BC – stabbed by the senators whose power he had usurped – on the Ides of March

Upper-class women played no role in public life; the lower classes (and slaves) worked

"Fundamentally, it was the Roman army that held the most power in Rome, so it didn't take long for politicians to try and win the army over"

Hortensius, herself earned a reputation as a skilled orator women generally had a very limited role in public life and could not hold any official position of political responsibility. The lives of working class women in the Republic, however, were completely different to those of the aristocratic woman we know about, and lower class women would have worked for a living.

Q: Why did the Republic ultimately fail and end?

A: If I could give you a definitive answer on why the Roman Republic failed, I could probably walk into a tenured professorship tomorrow there are so many differences of opinion. But I can share my own theory.

The *Comitia Centuriata* one of four separate peoples' assemblies, which sat below the Senate met annually to elect the consuls and praetors for the next year. In the early years of the Republic, this was a military assembly, which saw the Roman army vote for the consuls, essentially choosing their war leader for that year. Since the consul would be the person to lead the armies into battle, it's quite reasonable in a democratic republic that the army should choose him. But in the later Republic, we start to see a disconnect between the consuls and the army, because by that time, they had started fighting in places like Syria, Spain and North Africa, meaning that the peasant soldiery could not get back to Rome to vote. This meant that it was the Roman citizens who were voting for what the army was going to do and who would command it.

Fundamentally, it was the Roman army that held the most power in Rome, so it didn't take long for politicians like Sulla and Julius Caesar to try and win the army over, offering it an alternative to what other politicians wanted it to do. And the result of this is the Roman Empire, which was basically a military dictatorship.

Q: How democratic was the Republic?

A: Again, this is fiercely debated. Some people argue that it was extremely democratic; others point out that the democratic institutions of the Roman

THE TWELVE TABLES

Created in 451 and 450 BC, and inscribed on bronze tablets, the 12 tables spelled out the rights and responsibilities of Roman citizens. Here are some examples...

TABLE I

PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS FOR COURT TRIALS

"If the defendant attempts evasion or takes flight the plaintiff shall lay hand on him."

TABLE II

COURT TRIALS

"Whoever needs evidence shall go every third day to shout before the doorway."

TABLE III

EXECUTION OF JUDGMENT

"Unless the debtor discharges the debt adjudged or unless someone offers surety for him in court the creditor shall take the debtor with him."

TABLE IV

PATERNAL POWER

"If a father thrice surrenders a son for sale the son shall be free from the father."

TABLE V

INHERITANCE

"Women, even though they are of full age, because of their levity of mind shall be under guardianship... except vestal virgins."

TABLE VI

OWNERSHIP AND POSSESSION

"When a person makes bond and conveyance, according as he specified with his tongue so shall be the law."

TABLE VII

REAL PROPERTY

"Branches of a tree shall be pruned all around to a height of fifteen feet."

TABLE VIII

TORTS OR DELICTS

"If anyone sings or composes an incantation that can cause dishonour or disgrace to another ... he shall suffer a capital penalty."

TABLE IX

PUBLIC LAW

"Whoever incites a public enemy or whoever betrays a citizen to a public enemy shall be punished capitally."

TABLE X

SACRED LAW

"Women shall not tear their cheeks or shall not make a sorrowful outcry on account of a funeral."

TABLE XI

SUPPLEMENTARY LAWS

"There shall not be intermarriage between plebeians and patricians."

TABLE XII

SUPPLEMENTARY LAWS

"There shall be introduced a seizure of pledge against a person who buys an animal for sacrifice and does not pay the price..."

Republic had been captured by the aristocracy, and the result is that it wasn't very democratic at all.

Q: How did Roman citizenship work?

A: Citizenship was a major innovation of the Romans. Athenians believed that to be an Athenian, you had to be born an Athenian you could no more become an Athenian than a cat could become a dog. The Romans, however, worked on the opposite principle. Quite often, after conquering a city they'd get the locals together in the smoking ruins of their homes and say: "Congratulations and welcome to Rome, fellow citizens." So, the Romans were not only inclusive, but at times forcibly inclusive.

They also came up with the interesting innovation that you could be a citizen of your own city and simultaneously a citizen of Rome; this wasn't an idea that hadn't occurred to anyone before. Rome was actually built by conquering the peoples of Italy and later of Gaul and Asia Minor, making them part of the population and turning them into models of themselves until they became more Roman than the Romans themselves. The Italian Social War of 91 88 BC was triggered by Rome's refusal to grant citizenship to its Italian allies. It's the only recorded case in history of the opposite of a war of independence.

The Republic was also ruthlessly expansionist, far more so than the Roman Empire that followed. When the Republic was formed, Rome was fighting Veii, an Etruscan city so close it now sits in the suburbs of modern Rome. By the time the Republic ends, it stretched from the banks of the Euphrates all the way to the coast of modern-day Portugal.

GETTY IMAGES X2

Marble relief depicting Julius Caesar invading Britain – he did so twice, though the Roman conquest wouldn't begin until AD 43, in the reign of Emperor Claudius

THE BURGEONING ROMAN EMPIRE

After almost half a millennia of republic came five centuries of empire – and some of the most famous and colourful rulers in history. Trace a path through the dynastic squabbles and murder plots...

WORDS: NIGE TASSELL

The Roman Empire was by no means the largest in history: in fact 25 others have occupied a larger land mass either before or since. Yet very few can boast as wide reaching an influence and impact. At its height, in the second century AD, the Roman Empire stretched all the way from Britain's Atlantic coast to Mesopotamia in the east, and as far south as North Africa. More than a fifth of the world's estimated population was under its governance.

Because of the meticulous record keeping of the Romans, a clear date can be ascribed to Rome's move from republic to empire. By the first century BC, the Roman Republic had been firmly established for centuries, growing from its roots as a minor city state to conquering and controlling vast swathes of the Mediterranean basin, including Italy, Greece, Iberia, Gaul (an area that included modern day France among other regions), the North African coast and parts of the Middle East.

The transition from republic to empire was due in large part to the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC. Caesar was, along with Crassus and Pompey, one of the First Triumvirate that ruled the late Republic, but after the former's death and the latter's defeat in a civil war, he took sole control. He was eventually declared *dictator perpetuo*, or 'dictator for life'. It turned out to be a hollow title, for his life was ended a little over a month later, brutally curtailed by dagger wielding senators eager to uphold Rome's republican ideals.

Caesar was succeeded by a fresh triumvirate, consisting of Mark Anthony, Lepidus and Octavian, named in Caesar's will as his adopted son and heir. Octavian thus saw himself as the rightful, single leader. Another civil war ensued, with Octavian victorious. Afterwards, he passed the laws giving him particular constitutional powers. From 27 BC, he would be known as Augustus, the first emperor of the Roman Empire.

But it would be incorrect to suggest that the switch from republic to empire was an instant one. As historian Philip Matyszak notes, after Augustus's ascension, "democracy didn't really end" but continued in a lively form in most of the towns and cities of the empire.

"When we look at Pompeii and the graffiti there, we can see there were election campaigns going on, and apparently genuinely contested elections," says Matyszak. "When he became emperor, Augustus was anxious to give the impression that the life of the Republic continued as before. It was only over the next century or so that this became more and more of a hollow charade.

"Augustus was keen not to tell everyone they were subordinate to him. That was what had got his adoptive father killed, after all. Instead, he was known as the *princeps*, the first citizen. While he argued that he had no legal authority although in reality he did, as he had command of several key provinces Augustus was second to none in his personal authority." The Senate still functioned, but Augustus was definitely in control of government.

FROM CONQUEST TO PEACE

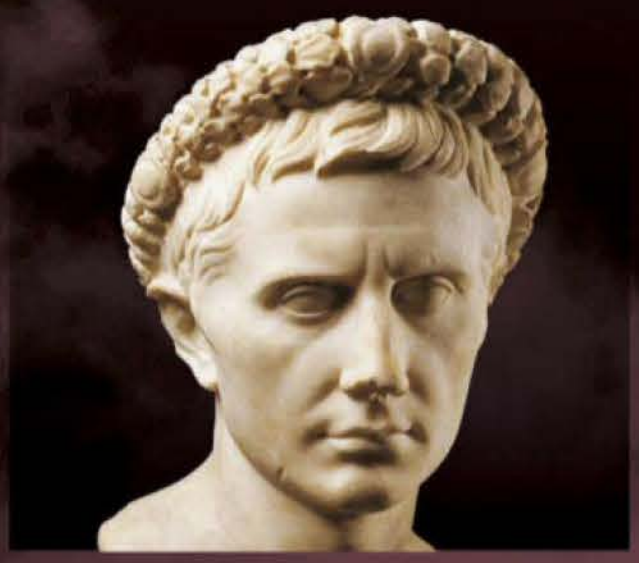
The world 'empire' is suggestive of expansion and acquisition, of a land grab that brought with it an increased population and the growth of the economy. However, there was relatively little expansion of Rome's physical boundaries during the Empire.

"The Empire was largely in place by the time of Augustus," notes Matyszak. "The huge conquests of Gaul and the Middle East had been accomplished during the generation before that. When we look at imperial conquests, we're looking at Dacia [a region that's largely within the borders of Romania today] and at Britain. Egypt can be considered a republican acquisition because Augustus took it over before he became emperor. So there ▶

Democracy didn't end with Augustus taking power – this graffiti found in Pompeii is for an election

FIVE NOTABLE EMPERORS

Of all the myriad rulers to take command of the Roman Empire, these five made their mark for a variety of reasons



AUGUSTUS (r27 BC – AD 14)

Augustus (formerly known as Octavian) became Rome's first de facto emperor after the fall of the Roman Republic and the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. The era of Augustus laid the groundwork for roughly 200 years of relative peace across the Mediterranean world – known as the *Pax Romana*. During his reign, Augustus improved many aspects of Roman life – from financial, administrative and religious reforms, to huge building projects and the expansion of trade.

TRAJAN (rAD 98–117)

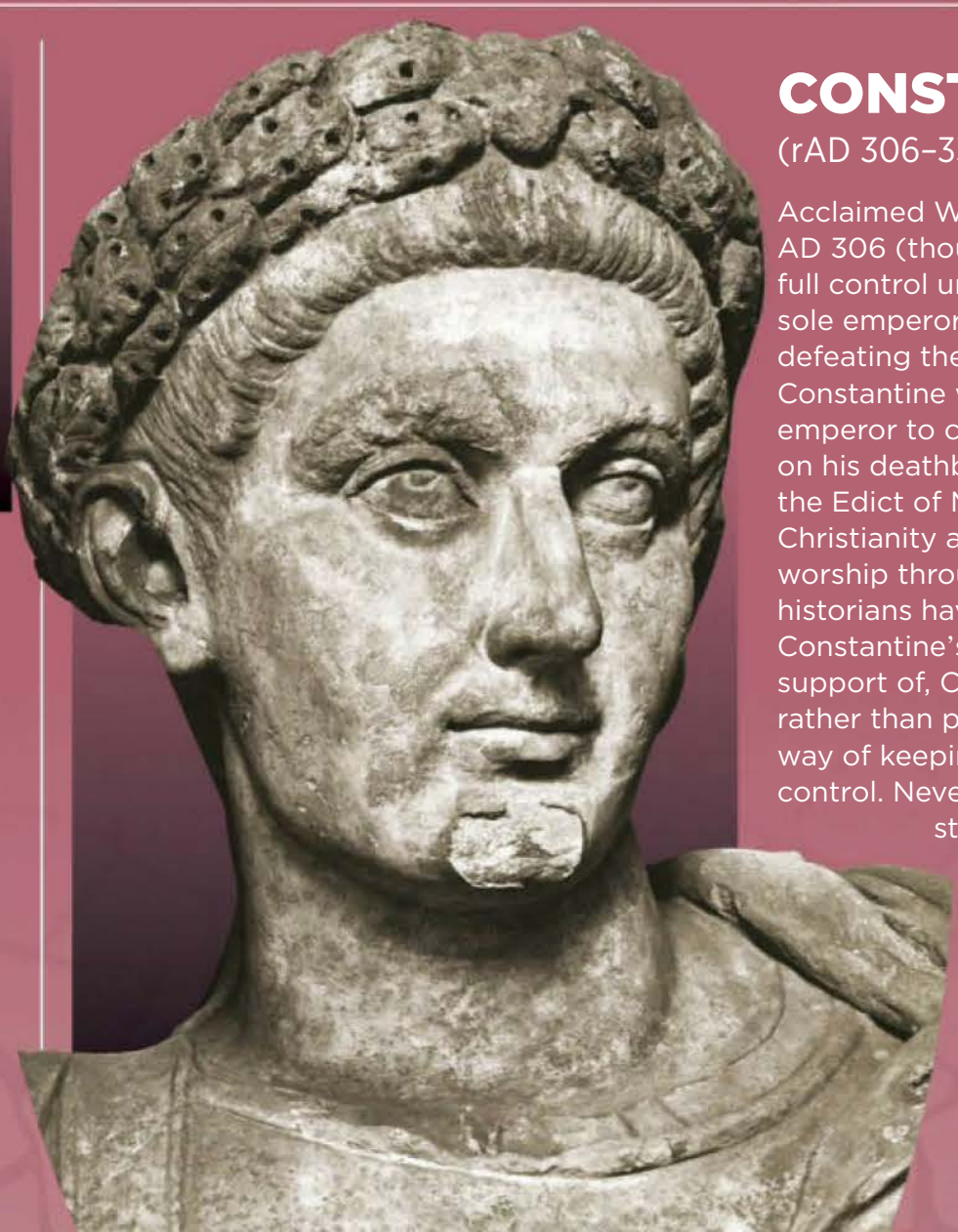
Selected and trained by his predecessor Nerva, Trajan was a military commander born in what it now Andalusia. He is known for his generosity towards his subjects and did much to increase social welfare – including increasing the number of poor citizens who received grain from the state – as well as his building projects. Under Trajan's rule, the Empire expanded as far as the Persian Gulf, while his conquest of the Dacians, in AD 106 (and the riches he brought home) is seen as one of the defining events of his reign.

HADRIAN (rAD 117-138)

Cousin and successor to Trajan, Hadrian visited nearly every province of the Empire during his reign, including Britain in AD 122, consolidating imperial power. Hadrian's passion for architecture and building can be seen in building projects throughout the Empire, including Hadrian's Wall in Britain, and he established cities throughout the Balkan Peninsula, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece.

AURELIAN (rAD 270-275)

Despite ruling for just five years, Aurelian reunited the fragmented Roman Empire following his conquest of the Palmyrene Empire in AD 273 and the Gallic Empire in AD 274 – for which he earned the title 'Restorer of the World' – towards the end the so-called Crisis of the Third Century. The crisis had seen the Empire nearing collapse from barbarian invasions, political instability, as well as civil wars and rebellions, and split into three competing states.



CONSTANTINE I

(rAD 306–337)

Acclaimed Western emperor from AD 306 (though he wouldn't take full control until AD 312) and then sole emperor from AD 324 BC, after defeating the Eastern emperor Licinius. Constantine was the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity, on his deathbed. In AD 313, he issued the Edict of Milan, which legalised Christianity and allowed freedom of worship throughout the Empire. Some historians have questioned whether Constantine's conversion to, and support of, Christianity was a political rather than personal decision, and a way of keeping the Empire under his control. Nevertheless, his decision to stop the persecution of Christians is seen by many as a turning point in early Christian history.

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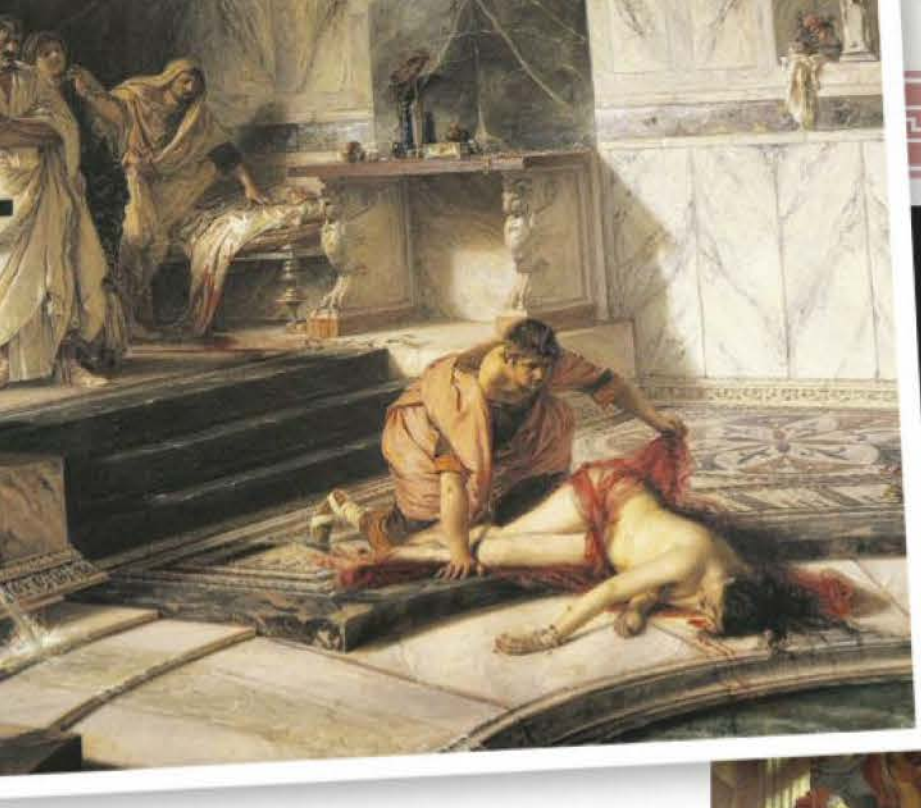


LEFT: **Nero allegedly contrived an elaborate plot to ensure his mother, Agrippina the Younger, died at sea; when that failed, he hired assassins to kill her**

MAIN: **One of the greatest challenges of Titus's reign arrived a few months into it: the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79**

are few really major expansions during the Empire."

As the first ruler of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, by securing Rome's borders, Augustus brought a sense of peace and prosperity after a period of political turmoil and upheaval. This prolonged time of stability became known as the *Pax Romana*. Not only did Augustus lay the metaphorical foundations of the Empire, he also commissioned a substantial programme of building works, including the construction of the first Pantheon. He himself declared that he had "found Rome a city of clay but left it a city of marble".

FOUNDING A DYNASTY

On his death in AD 14, Augustus was succeeded by his stepson Tiberius, who lacked the vision of his father. The remaining emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were also pale shadows of the first emperor when it came to civic duty. Tiberius's great-nephew Caligula succeeded him, but his four-year reign is remembered for his infamous predilection for sadism and cruelty. Next came Claudius, who was definitely an improvement on Caligula. He was a fine administrator, with an ambitious eye; the Roman conquest of Britain began during his reign.

If Pax Romana described the relatively settled state of the wider Empire across several generations, the political machinations in Rome itself were decidedly tempestuous. The Julio-Claudian dynasty ended with the suicide of Claudius's successor, his great-nephew Nero, who was one of the Empire's most brutal leaders – a man who ordered the murders of both his mother and his first wife, and whom Romans popularly believed actually started the Great Fire of Rome in AD 64.

"The remaining emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were pale shadows of Augustus when it came to civic duty"

A period of deeper unrest then ensued, with Rome descending into a series of power struggles; the year AD 69 would see no fewer than four men declaring themselves emperor. The subsequent Flavian dynasty – Vespasian, and his sons Titus and Domitian – then returned peace and stability.

Although his rule lasted just two years, Titus was a particularly effective emperor, one forced to show great leadership in the face of disaster and adversity, namely the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79, which buried Pompeii and Herculaneum under a rain of volcanic rock and ash, and a second major fire in Rome the following year.

Further growth, expansion and prosperity came with the dawn of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty in 96 AD.

RISE AND FALL A timeline of the Roman Empire

27 BC

Augustus, the great-nephew and heir of Julius Caesar, takes power, becoming Rome's first emperor and ending the Roman Republic – which had existed for nearly five centuries

AD 43

The conquest of Britain begins. The province of Britannia would be part of the Empire for 367 years, but it took 30 years for the island to come under Roman rule – bar the far north

AD 64

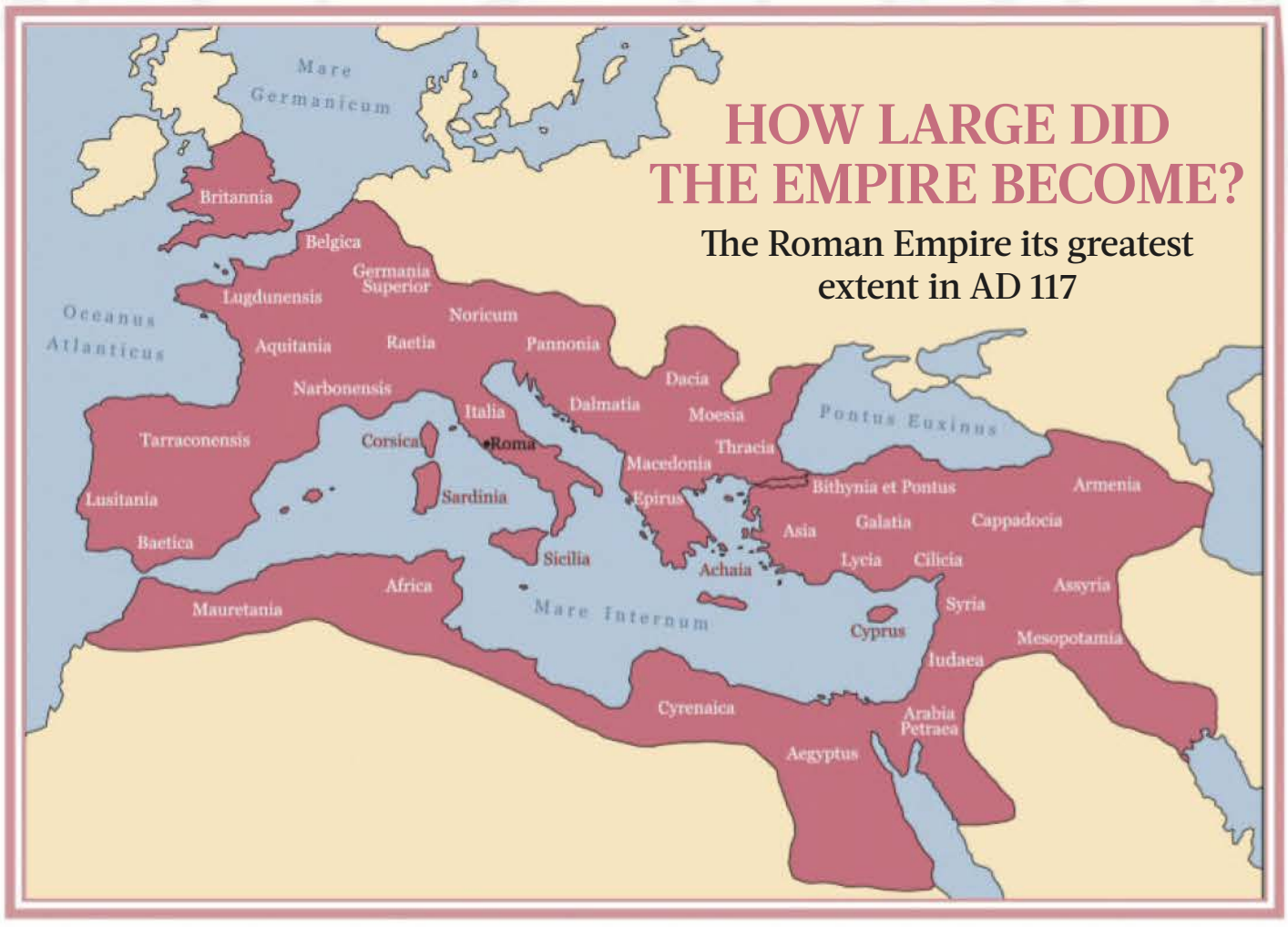
A great fire destroys much of Rome. Emperor Nero blames the Christians for the disaster and has many of them killed

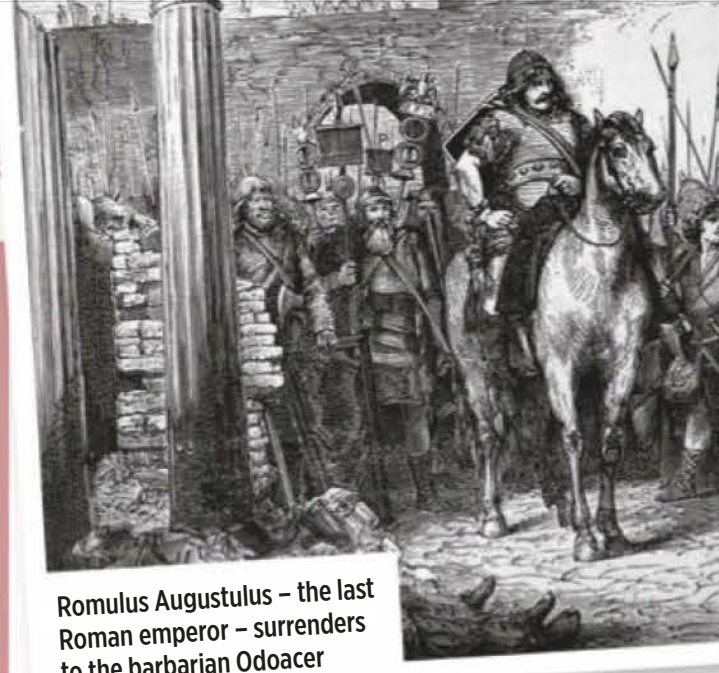
AD 79

Mount Vesuvius, a volcano near modern Naples, erupts and buries the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum in ash

AD 80

Construction of the Colosseum is completed in Rome. This grand amphitheatre, the heart of entertainment in the Empire's capital, was the largest of its kind ever built and could hold 50,000 spectators





Romulus Augustulus – the last Roman emperor – surrenders to the barbarian Odoacer

◀ Nerva, and the four emperors who followed him, presided over an extremely settled period. This was the high-water mark of the Empire, with Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninius Pius and Marcus Aurelius truly consolidating Rome's power. Now controlling the entire Mediterranean coastline, the Empire covered a territory of nearly two million square miles.

HEADING TO A SEPARATION

The history of the Roman Empire is an undulating one, with extended periods of stability counterbalanced by times of great chaos and disorder, often featuring emperors being assassinated before their allotted time. After the Nerva-Antonine dynasty came to a close with the demise of Marcus Aurelius's successor Commodus (he was strangled in his bath), the Year of Five Emperors saw another multilateral struggle for power, resulting in the Severan dynasty from AD 193 onwards. This latest lineage saw expansion into Africa, as well as the extension of Roman citizenship to all free men across the Empire – although this measure may have had less to do with noble intentions and more to do with raising Rome's taxation income.

Political in-fighting – often resolved by assassination – dragged the Empire into more chaos and into a period known as the Crisis of the Third Century, or The Imperial Crisis, which lasted from AD 235 to 284. This was a time of perpetual civil war as a procession of military leaders vied to become emperor. The Empire effectively split into three, before being reunified by Aurelian in AD 274. But this unification lasted little more than a decade; the Empire was too unwieldy, too large, to be wholly governed by one central government from Rome.

> "The empire was too unwieldy, too large, to be wholly governed by one central government from Rome"

Enter Diocletian: Aurelian's successor first appointed Maximian as his co-emperor in AD 286 and then, in AD 293, created the Tetrarchy, in which governance of the Roman Empire (though not the Empire itself) was split into East and West, each managed by a senior emperor (an *augustus*) and a junior emperor (a *caesar*).

ACT OF DOMINATION

Diocletian's rule is significant in another way. His radicalism saw the term *dominus* (master) added to the emperor's title. This was a major shift in how the emperor viewed himself, a clear stepping-away from the idea of the Principate. The remaining life of the Roman Empire was now defined as the Dominate. "In the first half of the Empire, the emperor is known as the first citizen," explains Matyszak. "He's increasingly seen as the person who sets the tone for the Empire. Then, in the second half of the Empire, the emperor becomes god of his domains. He is suddenly unquestionable. His word is law."

The parts of the Empire were often governed separately from one another,

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RISE AND FALL The timeline continues...

AD 117
Under Emperor Trajan, Rome's territory is at its largest – spanning from Iberia to Mesopotamia and from Britain to Egypt

AD 165
A plague is brought to Rome by soldiers returning from the Near East that kills an estimated five million people. Historians believe the cause was smallpox

AD 193
After the murder of Emperor Commodus, five men claim the imperial title. Septimius Severus would be the final victor, founding the Severan dynasty

AD 235
The Crisis of the Third Century begins – a period where Rome suffers invasions, plague, an economic recession and many short-lived emperors, all fighting to rule

AD 293
Diocletian puts an end to Rome's crisis and divides governance of the empire into four. Known as the Tetrarchy, four men ruled the Empire, two in the West and two in the East

Thomas Cole's 'Destruction' shows a sack of an ancient city – an imagining of Rome some have suggested

but not always. In AD 324, Constantine the Great defeated his co emperor Maxentius to become sole ruler of both East and West. His rule was also significant for decreeing that religious tolerance be upheld towards Christianity. Indeed, the presence of Christianity has often been cited as a major contributory factor towards the ultimate fall of the Western Roman Empire, at odds with the broad paganism that this half of the empire was largely living by.

Plus, the Western Roman Empire was in military and economic disarray compared to its counterpart in the east. The latter would survive for a further thousand years. The western half, however, is usually given a date of death of AD 476, the year that the rule of the final emperor ended.

"The Empire had been steadily falling under the control of barbarian warlords for many years," says Matyszak. "The last Roman emperor was Romulus Augustulus, who was basically a figurehead. The state was being run by a German barbarian called Odoacer, who decided there was no need for an emperor of the Western Roman Empire. So they exiled him. That tells you something of how diminished the role of Roman emperor was by that point. They didn't even bother killing him."

A SLOW DEATH

Despite the AD 476 date, there was no great fall of empire, no sudden, cataclysmic event that marked an absolute end point. "If you were to tell somebody in AD 476 that the Roman Empire had just fallen, they would have looked at you as if you were mad. People were still going to the voting booth to choose the public officials for the year. They were still going to the arena to watch the chariot races. For them, life just carried on as usual. The date of AD 476 was dreamed up by historians in the early modern era." For an empire that redefined the idea of civilisation and society, it was an ignominious end. "Rome didn't so much fall, as gradually collapse and fade away."

IGNOMINIOUS ENDS

Being a Roman emperor could be a dangerous business...

5 DIED IN BATTLE OR FROM THEIR WOUNDS

25 DIED A NATURAL DEATH

1 DROWNED

6 TOOK THEIR OWN LIVES

1 DIED IN CAPTIVITY

39 EXECUTED OR MURDERED

AD 324

Constantine the Great, the first emperor to convert to Christianity, reunites the Empire again and becomes the sole emperor

AD 380

Emperors Gratian, Valentinian III and Theodosius I issue the Edict of Thessalonica, declaring Christianity the only official religion in the Roman Empire and ending state support for polytheism

AD 395

Theodosius I dies, having become sole emperor in AD 392. At his passing, governance of the West and the East is split between his two sons, never to be united again

AD 455

The Vandals, a Germanic tribal people, sack Rome. The once great city is systematically plundered

AD 476

The final emperor in the west, Romulus Augustulus, is ousted during a revolt of Germanic 'barbarians'. This is considered by some as the fall of the Roman Empire

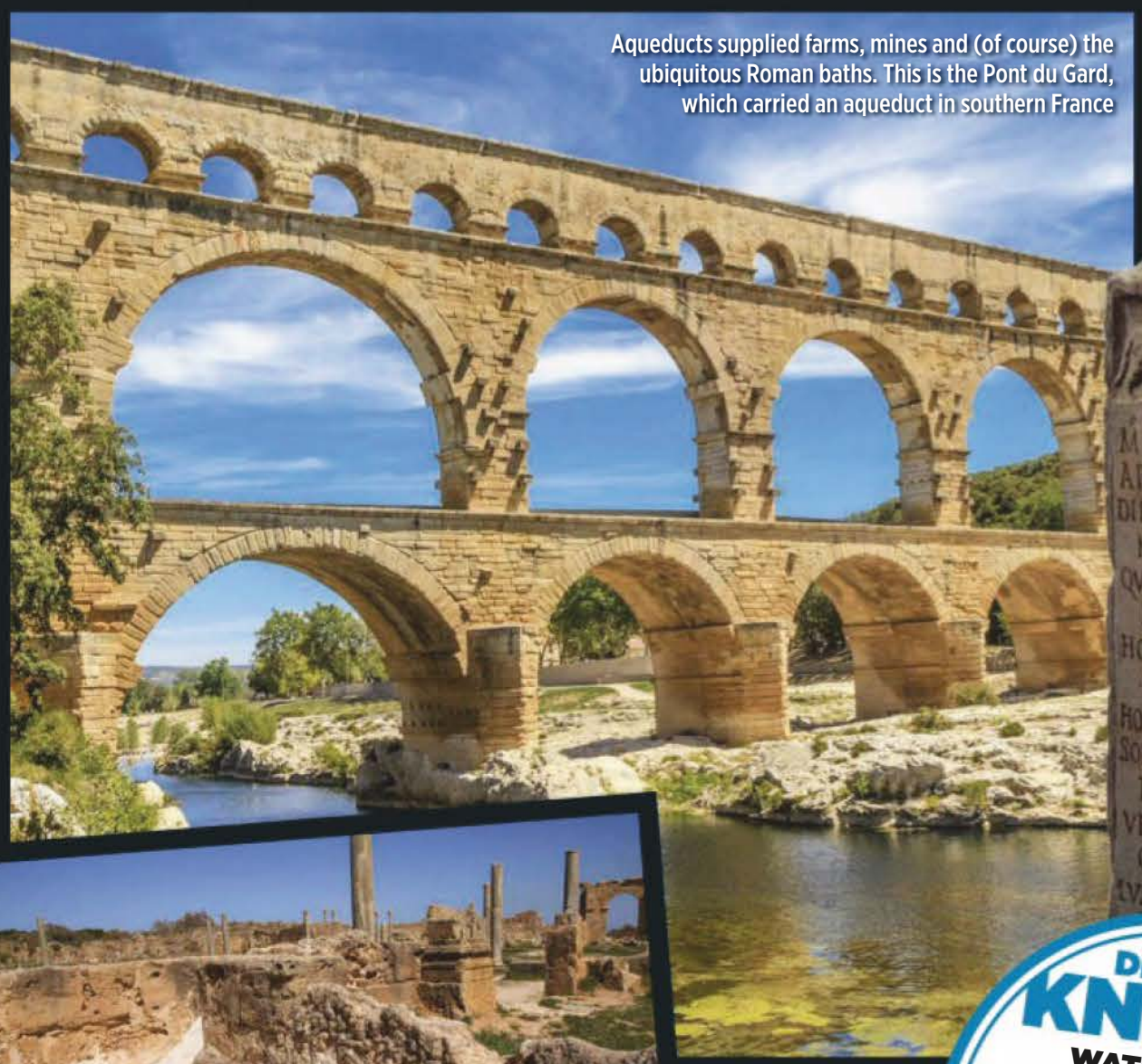
WHAT DID THE ROMANS EVER DO FOR US?

The Romans were known for being inventive and many of their creations are still used by us today. Here are some of the ways that the Romans changed the world

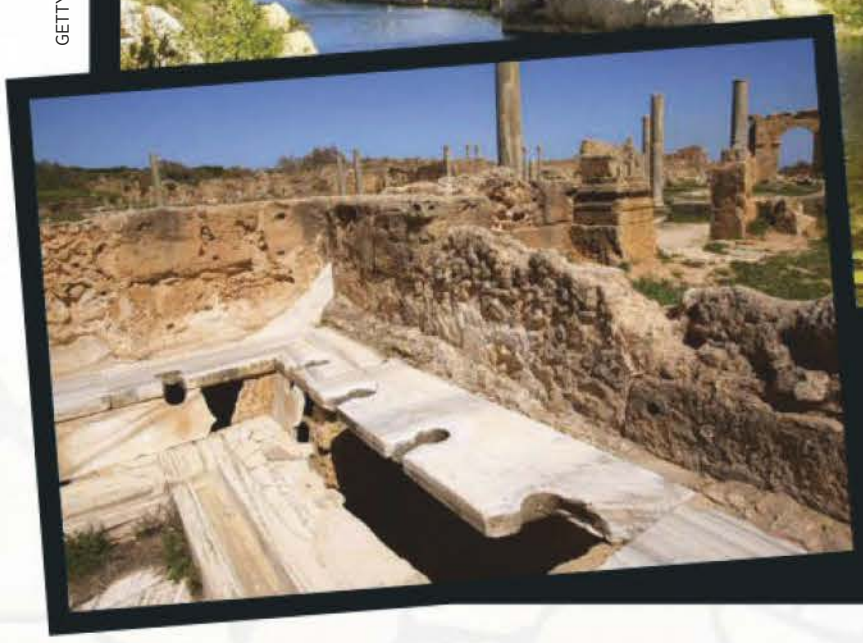
WORDS: JONNY WILKES & EMMA SLATTERY WILLIAMS

PLUMBING

One thing the Romans are well-known for is their plumbing, particularly the great aqueducts that carried water into towns – a major engineering feat – and huge sewers, such as the 6th-century BC Cloaca Maxima in Rome, that took waste out of the city. Aqueducts used gravity and the natural slope of the land to transport fresh water downhill from streams and lakes often located some distance away.



Aqueducts supplied farms, mines and (of course) the ubiquitous Roman baths. This is the Pont du Gard, which carried an aqueduct in southern France



LEFT: The latrines at the baths in Leptis Magna, one of the prominent cities of the Carthaginian Empire

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DID YOU KNOW?

WATER OVER THE BRIDGE

The Pont du Gard aqueduct bridge in France is one of the most famous and best-preserved examples of a Roman aqueduct. Built in the 1st century AD, it was part of an aqueduct that carried water 50km to Nîmes.

THE CALENDAR

Twelve months, a 365-day year (with a leap year every four years) and the names of the months themselves – we owe them all to the Romans. Ancient Romans had followed a ten-month year of 304 days up until c713 BC, when the extra two months (Januarius and Februarius) were added, but it wouldn't be until 45 BC that the 365-day year was introduced by Julius Caesar. Later, the months Quintilis and Sextilis were renamed Iulius (July) and Augustus (August) in honour of Caesar and his heir.

This Roman calendar covers an entire year – listing the number of days, agricultural work to be done and festivals to be celebrated in each month

ROADS

All roads leads to Rome, or so the saying goes. The Romans may not have invented the road, but they perfected them and created highways that are still in use today. These paved, strong – and usually straight – roads connected the Roman Empire, improving trade and communication links as well as making it easier for the army to move around. Rome had 29 highways leading from it at the Empire's peak.

If all roads lead to Rome, they'll eventually take you to the Forum and the Temple of Vespasian and Titus

ROMAN NUMERALS

We can see Roman numerals all around us – on monuments, clock faces and, to add a degree of gravitas, in the titles of monarchs and movie sequels. It seems the Romans adopted the numerical system used by the Etruscans, although they chose to read from left to right rather than right to left like their predecessors. Numerals didn't end with the Romans, either: the M (1,000) wouldn't be added until the Middle Ages.

CONCRETE

The Romans understood that concrete was much easier to build with compared to brick and stone, and far less expensive than marble – the favoured material of the Greeks. They also figured out both how to set concrete quickly, and how to get it to set underwater – vital for aqueducts and harbours. The Colosseum is made from this quick-drying composite, a mix of quicklime, seawater, volcanic ash and sand.

The Pantheon, the former Roman temple now used as a church, is a testament to concrete – that's what its unreinforced dome is made of

The bound books of the Roman era would evolve into medieval tomes like these

BOUND BOOKS

Ancient civilisations have been writing for thousands of years but it was the Romans who first decided to swap the scroll for a bound 'book'. Known as a codex, they were easier to read than long scrolls and allowed large volumes of information to be carried around. These books were often made of pages of animal skin parchment.

SURGICAL TOOLS

Roman medicine, in many respects, laid the foundations for that which came after. The Romans developed many precision instruments for use in surgery – forceps, scalpels and catheters have all been found in Roman ruins. Physicians would have learned much of their craft from tending to wounded gladiators.

Legendary physician Iapyx tends to wounded Aeneas, the Trojan exile cast as an ancestor of the founders of Rome: Romulus and Remus

Slave markets – as shown in this engraving – were a staple of most Roman towns

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT ROME

Whether you worked in the mines or as a concubine, life as a slave could be thoroughly unpleasant. Delve into the dangerous world of forced labour…

WORDS: NIGE TASSELL

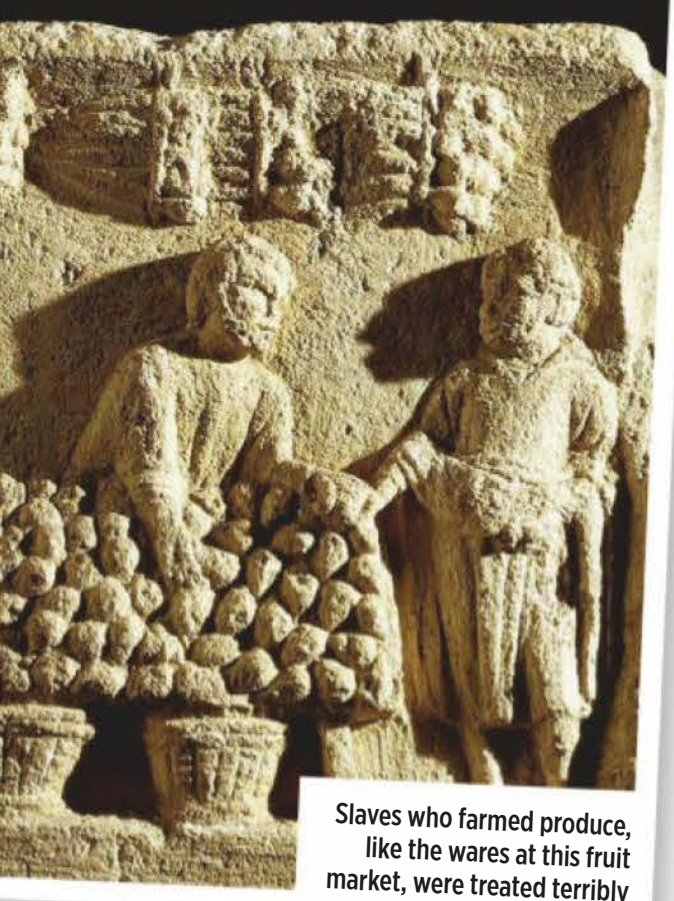
The Roman Empire was hugely dependent on forced labour. It was a key foundation on which Rome's power, wealth and influence was built. A great many slaves were set to work in menial and manual jobs – including agriculture, mining and construction. As historian Philip Matyszak explains, these types of jobs could be particularly brutal. "Being sent to the mines was a drawn-out death sentence," he says "They worked in very dangerous, very unhealthy conditions lit by oil lamps, constantly breathing in fumes. They worked in a state of acute misery." Unfortunately, those working above ground in agriculture fared little better. "They were treated by the farmers as part of the livestock; offered as much compassion as was given to the cattle, the sheep and the goats."

A SYMBOL OF STATUS

Some slaves, however, undertook work in what would now be considered white-collar jobs, such as teaching or accounting. For instance, middle-class Roman families, in their admiration of Greek culture, would often seek out educated slaves from Greece as home tutors for their children. Slaves from lands deemed to be of lesser cultural worth, such as Britain or Germany, were generally less attractive when it came to work that carried with it a level of responsibility.

That educated people could be put into slavery illustrates the idea that a large swathe of the population could be susceptible to a life – or a good few years, at least – in servitude. "Anyone could be a slave," says Matyszak. "It was one of those

ALAMY X2, GETTY IMAGES X1



Slaves who farmed produce, like the wares at this fruit market, were treated terribly

misfortunes that could happen, like getting a terrible illness. You could decide to go off and visit a temple in Greece, get caught by pirates on the way and end up in the olive fields in north Africa. It was something that could happen to a lot of people."

And piracy was just one way in which people became ensnared in slavery. Any child born to a slave mother would automatically become a slave – regardless of the social standing of their father. There were also plenty of instances of free children being sold into slavery in order to improve a family's financial circumstances or settle a debt.

PERSONAL PROPERTY

Under Roman law, slaves were considered property. As with personal possessions, the wealthier you were, the more slaves you owned and the higher your social standing. The most prosperous households owned slaves for every imaginable purpose, purchased at the slave markets found in almost all Roman towns. Whether a slave was needed for cooking, for childcare or as a concubine, during the late Republic at least, supply was high and trade was brisk.

Many slaves hailed from the territories into which the Roman Republic had expanded: a large proportion of these were former enemy soldiers, spared execution in return for spending the rest of their days in forced labour. According to Matyszak, it would be fair to suggest that certain military campaigns were effectively recruitment drives for slaves: "Some of the Republican wars in Greece almost translate as huge slave-raiding expeditions. The sack of Epirus, in 167 BC, for instance, ended with some 150,000 people enslaved." With the vast majority of Rome's geographical expansion occurring during the days of the Republic, the early era of the subsequent Empire – the relatively stable period known as *Pax Romana* – saw this supply line very much dwindle. Accordingly, legislation was introduced to further limit the ability of a slave to find freedom.

Devoid of legal rights, certainly during the Republic, slaves were subjected to whatever punishment their owners meted out. Disobedience was met with brutal treatment that was often violent – and potentially fatal. For instance, in the event of a slave murdering his master, the punishment had dire consequences for the late owner's other slaves, all of whom faced execution too.

Certain slaves – particularly those working in more prestigious roles – could develop a close relationship with their owner, which sometimes resulted in the slave being freed. This was the experience of Tiro, who worked as Cicero's secretary for many years. The goodwill of slave owners was rare, though. Many slaves who were freed only did so by saving up any modest income – such as money given to them by their master for small personal expenses – and buying their way out of servitude.

While escaping from forced work was almost exclusively an individual pursuit, there are examples of slaves rising up against the system, either against their own master or in organised rebellions. The most famous rebellion was led by the Thracian gladiator Spartacus in 73 BC in one of the Servile Wars (*see box right*). It's believed that Spartacus was killed in battle, while the surviving 6,000 slaves who had followed him were crucified, their bodies gruesomely strung up along a road called the Appian Way. The normal balance of power had been restored.

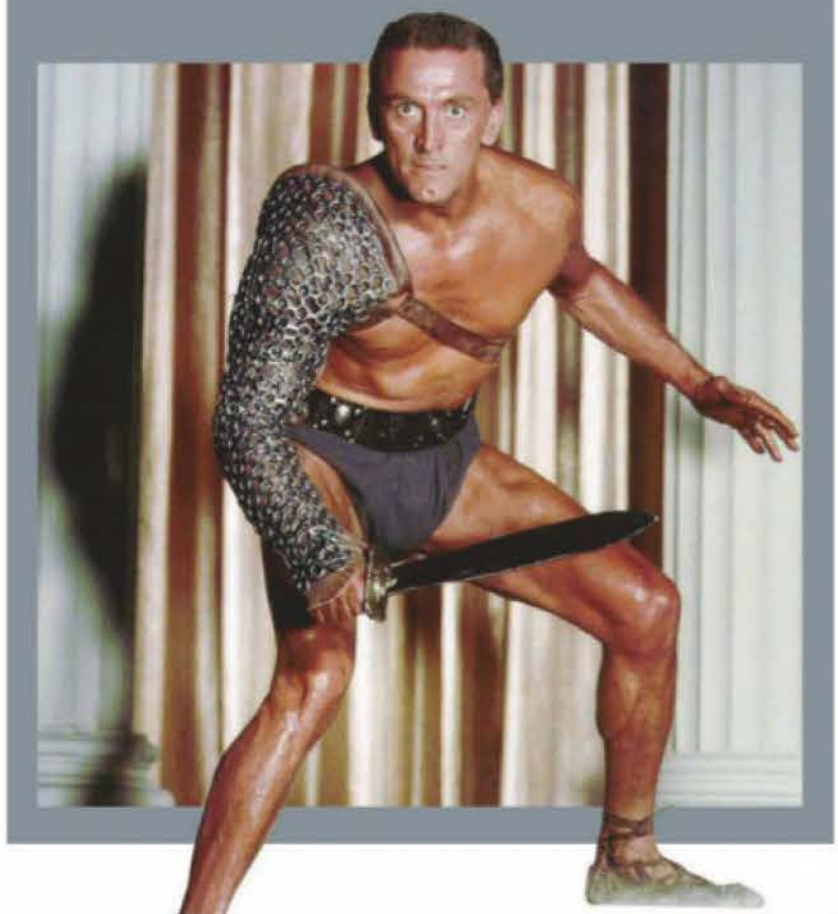
FIGHTING THE STATUS QUO

In 73 BC, a gladiator in Capua called Spartacus began a slave rebellion that shook the very heart of Rome

Very little is known for certain about Spartacus, but the records do show that he was sold into slavery to a gladiatorial school in Capua, 16 miles north of Naples. He may have come from Thrace and could have fought in the Roman Army – it's believed that the name Spartacus may have been given to him once he was enslaved.

Spartacus escaped captivity in 73 BC, along with 70 other slaves. Together, they made their stand on Mount Vesuvius, defeating the forces sent to deal with them. This victory inspired other runaway slaves flocked to their side – it's estimated that Spartacus's army numbered 100,000 at its peak. Initially Rome didn't take what it saw as a minor revolt seriously, but after a number of victories, General Marcus Licinius Crassus was sent to put an end to what would become known as the Third Servile War.

By 71 BC, Crassus had defeated the slave army and 6,000 surviving rebels were crucified. Spartacus is believed to have been killed in battle, but his body has never been found. Although Spartacus was ultimately unsuccessful, his attempt to rid the Republic of slavery went on to inspire reams of books, films and television shows, as well as others hoping to instigate revolutions.



Kirk Douglas played the eponymous slave in the 1960 film *Spartacus*

THE TERRIBLE WORLD OF WORK

From eating poison to life in chains, slave jobs could be awful

AGRICULTURAL SLAVES
Agricultural slaves toiled in the fields and endured terrible conditions. As well as being worked to the bone and malnourished, they were also commonly chained up and forced to sleep in *ergastula* (prison barracks).

PRAEGUSTATOR (FOOD TASTER)
Roman feasts boasted flowing wine, sumptuous dishes – and the threat of poison. In the imperial household, a *praegustator* would sample all the delicacies before they touched the emperor's lips, to make sure they weren't poisoned.

NOMENCLATOR (NAME CALLER)
At parties, feasts and political functions, a *nomenclator*'s job was to tell their master the name of whomever they met, so they would be saved the embarassment of not recognising who they were speaking to.

ROMAN FOOD AND DRINK

What could you expect to find on the average Roman's dining table?

WORDS: EMMA SLATTERY WILLIAMS

BIRDS

Meat was an unusual sight in Ancient Rome. Fish and poultry were far easier to come by and any bird was game to be eaten. Peacock and flamingo would often be served at the banquets of the upper classes, as were chicken, geese and pheasant – all out of reach for poorer Romans.

DORMICE

The dormouse was considered a delicacy in Ancient Rome. Kept in special pots to encourage them to fatten during hibernation, they would be served as an appetiser or dessert – stuffed with nuts and pork and dipped in honey. The rodents were often served to impress at feasts, as they indicated that the host was wealthy.

GARUM

This fermented fish sauce was the ketchup of the Roman world. Recipes suggest it was made from brine and the crushed intestines of large fish such as tuna and whole, smaller fish such as anchovies. A whole industry sprung up around this prized condiment – towns like Pompeii gained a new significance for providing this favoured sauce.

WHAT ABOUT FAST FOOD?

Fast food is not a modern concept. *Thermopōlium* were shops where you could buy a quick meal, but they often had a bad reputation and were mainly frequented by those who did not have their own kitchens. The name means 'somewhere where something hot is cooked' and they would typically serve spiced wine, meat and cheese.

GETTY IMAGES X10

POSCA

For the majority of Roman citizens, wine was off the menu. The lower classes, slaves and soldiers had to put up with a mixture of sour wine or vinegar, spices and water known as *posca*. This beverage was hailed as the fuel behind the superiority and endurance of Rome's legions.

PULS

A staple dish consumed by the Romans was *puls* – a pottage or stew made of farro (boiled grains) and salt. Those who could afford to could add vegetables, cheese or seasoning to this simple meal, which would have been consumed by the majority of the lower classes.

18+

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HOME IS WHERE THE BATH IS

What were Ancient Romans' houses like, and why were they obsessed with bathing? Take a tour of a Roman villa and bathhouse

WORDS: EMMA SLATTERY WILLIAMS

When you think of Ancient Rome, you probably picture expansive villas and exotic bathhouses. However, the majority of citizens weren't lucky enough to call these grand villas home. Instead, the lower and middle classes, especially in cities, lived in cramped buildings similar to modern apartments, known as *insulae*. These consisted of living spaces for many families with shops and businesses on the ground floor. As well as being crowded and far from private, these communal homes were a breeding ground for disease. The *insulae* normally had at least five floors, and they were often made of cheap timber and mud bricks. Fires and collapses were common.

Unlike apartments today, where the top floor or penthouse is normally the most luxurious space, in the *insulae* the opposite was true. The higher floors tended to be smaller and only accessible via rickety, narrow staircases. This put residents at greater risk if a fire broke out.

Waste from the *insulae* was dumped on the streets, and fresh water could only reach those on the lower floors. Few were lucky enough to have their own toilet in their home, so most people used the public latrines.

There was no privacy here either. Public latrines normally consisted of long wooden benches over a trench with holes cut into them. Running water – often waste water from the bathhouses – ran through these trenches to clear them, technically making them the first flushing toilets. In lieu of toilet paper, the Romans used a sponge called a *xylospongium*, which sat in a tub of water, ready for the next user.

SQUEAKY CLEAN

Hygiene in Ancient Rome was a serious matter. "Romans regarded being smelly as the mark of a barbarian," says historian Philip Matyszak. Instead of using soap to clean themselves, the Romans would bathe and then cover themselves with oil, which they scraped off with an instrument called a *strigil*, removing any dirt and sweat.

Unlike today, personal hygiene in Ancient Rome was far from a private event. As Matyszak explains: "Bathing was regarded as a communal exercise, so you bathed in public. When you got up in the morning and went to the latrines, you did your business sitting next to somebody, exchanging the gossip." Some took socialising in the latrines to extreme lengths: "The poet Martial noted a particular man who he said hung around the latrines all day, not because he was sick, but because he wanted a dinner invitation."

Bathhouses were the social hubs of Roman society; at one point, there were more than 900 bathhouses in Rome, and the huge Baths of Diocletian could hold 3,000 people. That's not something to be sniffed at.

"Public latrines normally consisted of long wooden benches over a trench with holes cut into them"

Turn the page to take a tour of a Roman villa

Insulae in Ancient Rome were home to many poorer families (*above*), who lived in cramped and unsanitary conditions. Most did not have private toilets, so residents needed to use communal public latrines (*left*)

GETTY IMAGES X1, ALAMY X1

INSIDE A ROMAN VILLA

Explore the rustic country houses of well-off Roman families

THE CULINA
Slaves prepared their master's meals in this room, which would usually be small and poorly ventilated.

THE PERISTYLIUM
These courtyards allowed city dwellers to create gardens within the walls of their home. They could contain ponds, flowers and shrines to the gods.

THE TRICLINIUM
Used for formal dining, these were often the most decorative and impressive rooms in the villa. The Romans liked to recline on pillows while eating.

SLAVE QUARTERS
Domestic slaves didn't have their own rooms – those who worked in the kitchens slept there, while personal slaves slept outside their master's rooms.

MOSAICS These artworks reveal incredible details about Roman life

PRACTICALLY PERFECT

▶ Although they're beautiful to look at, Roman mosaics were first intended as durable floors: practicality came first. Influenced by Greek examples, Roman mosaics were painstakingly put together using geometric cubes of stone and ceramic known as *tesserae*. Glass was sometimes used to add bright colours.

STATUS SYMBOL

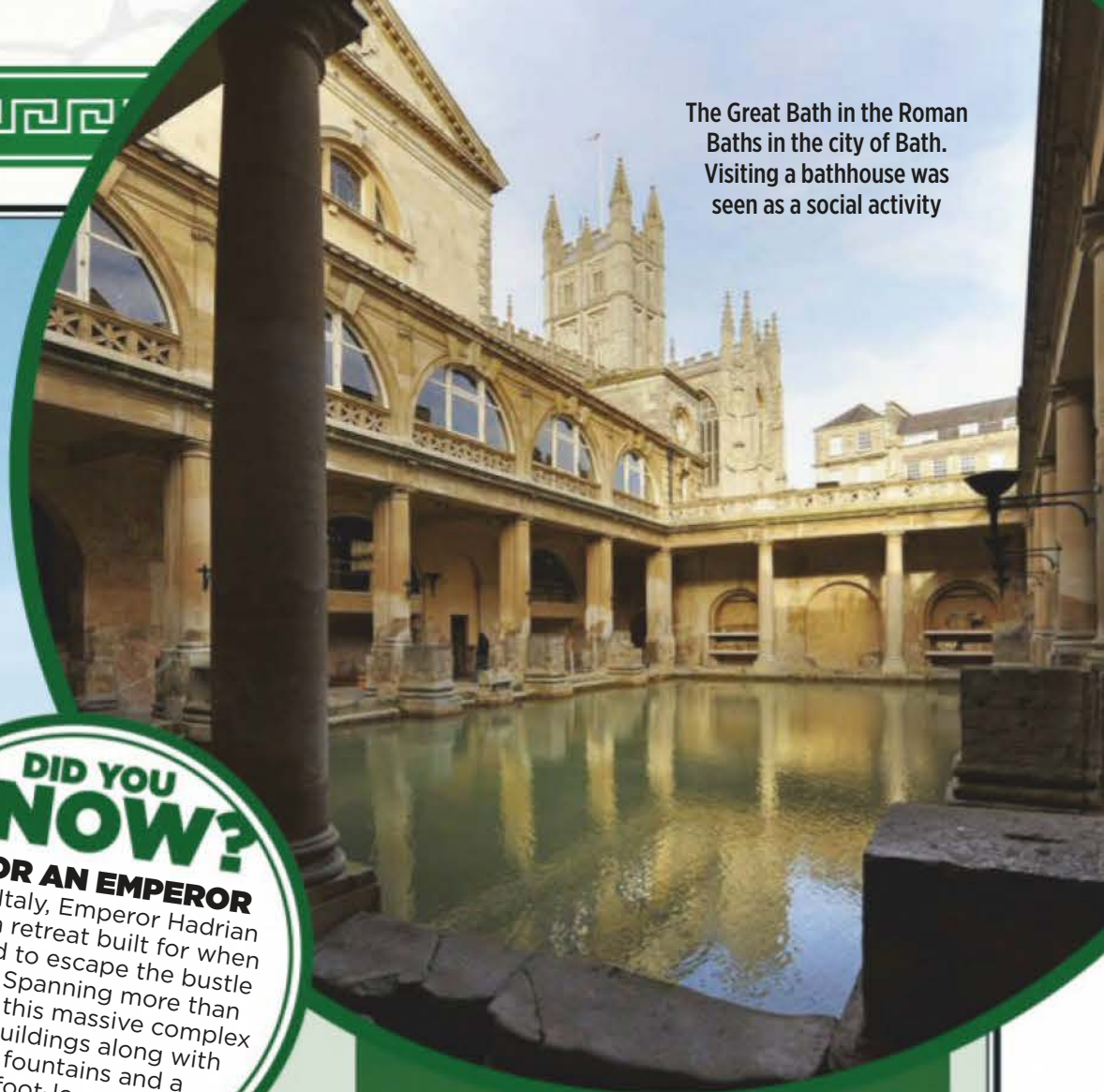
▶ Many Roman mosaics depicted mythological battles and tales of the gods. Like paintings, mosaics could also be commissioned by the wealthy to depict a family member and show off their status. If they were a patron of the gladiatorial games, they might ask for a mosaic of two gladiators battling it out in the arena, or a fearsome lion.

GETTY IMAGES X4, ALAMY X1

ARCHITECTURE
Roman villas typically had tiled roofs supported by stone pillars. This method of construction gained popularity and soon spread across the Empire.

WATER POOL
Larger Roman homes had multiple pools. One commonly collected rain water, while the other was used as a fish pond or for bathing.

THE CUBICULUM
These small rooms could be used as bedrooms, libraries and meeting rooms. Bedrooms had little furniture except a sleeping couch, a dressing table and chest.



The Great Bath in the Roman Baths in the city of Bath. Visiting a bathhouse was seen as a social activity

DID YOU KNOW?

FIT FOR AN EMPEROR
In Tivoli, Italy, Emperor Hadrian had a villa retreat built for when he wanted to escape the bustle of Rome. Spanning more than 200 acres, this massive complex had 30 buildings along with baths, fountains and a 390-foot-long pool representing the Nile.

INVENTIVE ADVERTS
▶ Mosaics have also been uncovered which depict simple scenes of everyday life or to advertise businesses, such as this one, which depicts two bread loaves and a piece of butter with a knife stuck into it. Mosaics could often be found on the floors of baths, along walls or covering entire courtyards in Roman villas.

ROMAN BATHS

The bathhouse in Ancient Rome was the place to be – and not just for having a wash

Public bathhouses in Ancient Rome were the social hub of every town and city, with every town having at least one. Many Romans visited these establishments every day. This wasn't only due to a desire to keep clean, but also so they could keep up with the gossip and news of the day. It was also somewhere to be seen, since, as Matyszak points out, "being bathed was the mark of a civilised person". Wealthy Romans often had their own bathing facilities, but for the sake of appearances it was important to be seen at the baths. Politicians used the bathhouses to persuade others to support them; businessmen negotiated deals there.

The baths were similar to today's spas and saunas, with rooms of varying temperatures and both hot and cold baths. Some bathhouses were very luxurious, boasting libraries and restaurants for socialising, as well as gymnasiums. In every bathhouse, the water was heated using a *hypocaust* – an inventive type of underfloor heating. The floors of the bathhouse were built on top of pillars, leaving a cavity beneath the floor. Hot air filled this cavity, heating the room or water above.

Bathers were fully naked while they enjoyed their baths, and not all establishments offered separate baths for men and women. Emperor Hadrian actually tried to ban mixed bathing, as some visitors were doing more than just conversing with each other.

RELIGION AND WORSHIP

Prior to adopting Christianity, the Romans worshipped a multitude of gods and goddesses

WORDS: CHARLOTTE HODGMAN

Before Christianity was adopted as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the 4th century AD, Ancient Romans worshipped a multitude of gods and goddesses deities who, it was believed, exercised divine influence over everything from ensuring a good harvest and bringing the Sun, to music, war and the weather. The relationship between the Romans and their gods was one built on mutual trust, and an array of rituals and offerings were regularly performed to secure the benevolence and cooperation of the gods, and maintain the *pax deorum* (peace of the gods).

Sacrifices were a major part of honouring the gods. In this bas relief on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, an offering is made in gratitude for victory over the Germanic tribes

PUBLIC VS PRIVATE

"One of the big things about Roman worship, is that it was a state affair, a civic job", says historian Philip Matyszak. "You didn't necessarily have to *believe* in the gods once you had taken part in civic ceremonies, you could go home and worship whomsoever you liked. The gods, it was thought, simply required you to attend ceremonies and sacrifices and take part in religious festivals this would maintain the pax deorum and in return the gods would make sure the rains came and the city was protected, and so on. How you worshipped in the privacy of your home was of little concern."

As the Roman Empire expanded and became exposed to deities of other cultures, the Roman pantheon also expanded to adopt some of the gods of those they had conquered - providing that they fit with Roman culture. Greece, in particular, had a big influence on Roman religion: Greek myths were adopted and Greek gods were often combined with corresponding Roman gods, as was the case with Jupiter and Zeus.

"Another interesting thing about the Romans is that they weren't interested in spreading their religion", says Matyszak. "They wanted their gods to look after them and only them. Early Christians, on the other hand, were highly militant and refused to attend civic ceremonies, except perhaps to stand on the temple steps to insult the Roman gods breaking the pax deorum, and, in turn, leading to Christian persecution.

"Christianity itself started to get a real toehold in the Empire during the Third Century Crisis, which was a time of great political and military upheaval, and saw towns and cities, such as Epheseus on the coast of Asia Minor, sacked by barbarian armies. It seemed to many Romans that their gods were not protecting them as they should, so some cities (including Epheseus) decided to try Christianity as an alternative."

Roman Vestal Virgins make a sacrifice –possibly of spices – to their goddess

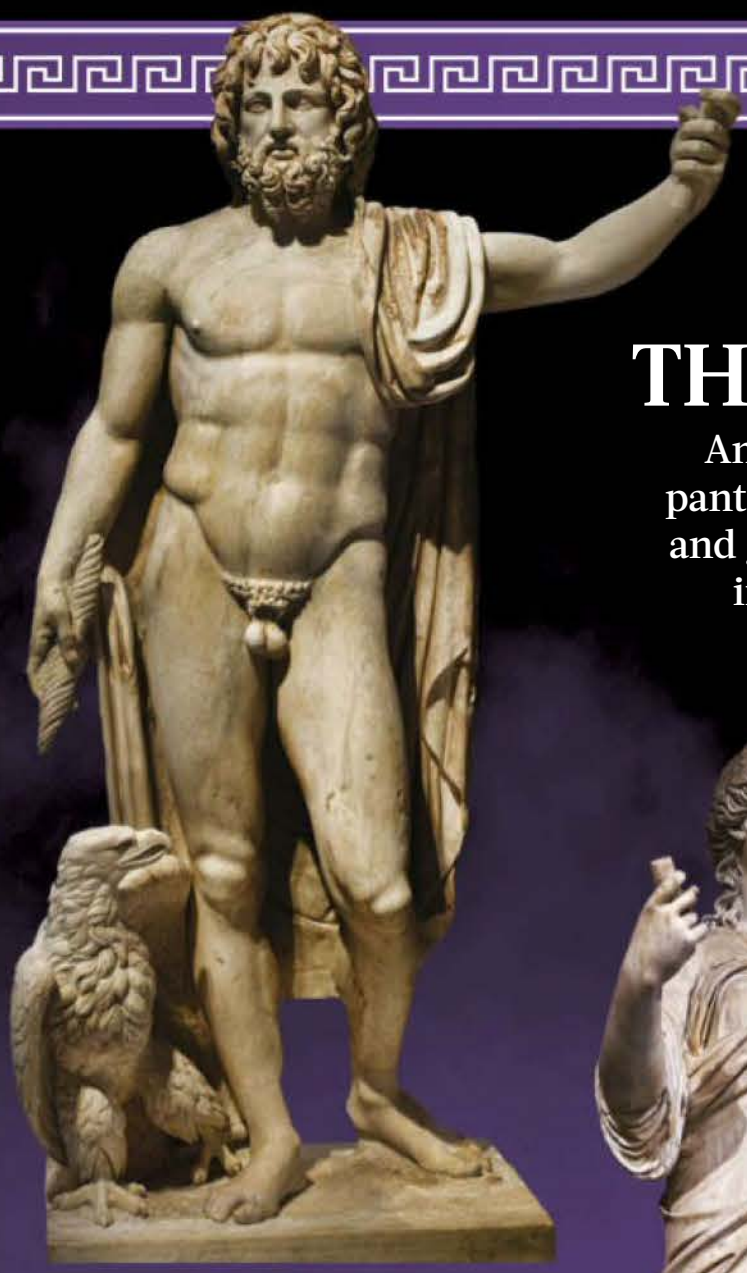
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/MATTHIAS KABEL X1, ALAMY X4, GETTY IMAGES X2

LIFE AS A VESTAL VIRGIN

Selected between the ages of six and ten, the job of the Vestal Virgins was to keep the hearth of Vesta – the virgin goddess of the home – tending the sacred fire at the 50-room *Atrium Vestae* (House of the Vestal Virgins), in the Roman Forum. Vestal Virgins – taken from patrician families – swore a 30-year vow of chastity and their careers were divided into three parts: ten years were spent as initiates, taught by older priestesses; the second ten years were spent as priestesses, and the final decade was dedicated to mentoring new initiates. Vestal Virgins enjoyed many privileges not available to ordinary Roman women, such as the ability to own property in their own right, some tax exemptions, and emancipation from *patria potestas* – the power held over the family by a father or other male relative.

WHO DID THEY WORSHIP?

Amidst the burgeoning Roman pantheon, these are five of the gods and goddesses who had the biggest influences on Romans' lives



JUPITER

▲ King of the gods

Chief of the Ancient Roman gods, god of the sky and patron of Rome itself, Jupiter's job was to protect the Roman state. Military commanders would make offerings to him after success in battle, while the Temple of Jupiter, on Rome's Capitoline Hill, was considered the city's most important religious site.

JUNO

◀ Queen of the gods

Wife – and sister – to Jupiter, Juno was Rome's patron goddess, as well as the goddess of marriage and childbirth. She was thought to take special care of women. A flock of sacred geese lived in her temple, on Capitoline Hill.

MINERVA

▲ Goddess of wisdom, arts, crafts and war

Said to have been born from the head of her father, Jupiter (after he swallowed her pregnant mother, Metis) Minerva was one of the three most important Roman deities (along with Jupiter and Juno). She became patron of the five-day Quinquatras festival, held in March at the beginning of the Roman army's campaign season, and was a focus of worship for guilds of craftsmen.

NEPTUNE

▼ God of freshwater, the sea, earthquakes, hurricanes and horses

Typically pictured with trident and dolphin – in the style of his Greek counterpart Poseidon – Neptune was the brother of Jupiter and Juno, and was noted for his violent temperament and unpredictable nature. The festival of Neptunalia was held in July at the height of the summer, when wells and rivers often ran dry.

VENUS

▲ Goddess of love, fertility, desire, beauty, victory and patron of profane wine (wine for everyday human use)

Born from the foam of the sea, Venus was the Roman counterpart to the Greek goddess Aphrodite. Her month was April – the start of spring – when various festivals were held in her honour. The Ancient Romans claimed ancestry with Venus through her son, Aeneas, who fled to Italy after the fall of Troy.

THE MIGHT OF THE ROMAN ARMY

The legions of Rome were the backbone of the Empire, but what was it like being a soldier?

WORDS: EMMA SLATTERY WILLIAMS

Feared across the Empire and beyond, the Roman Army was renowned for its discipline and precision. The famed legions were one reason why Rome became so powerful, so effectively bringing weaker foes under the mighty banner of Rome.

Soldiers received good pensions, regular meals and access to high-quality medical treatment. You had to be a Roman citizen to join a legion, but that wasn't a requirement to join the *auxilia*, which fought alongside them. Historian Philip Matyszak points out the benefits of joining the latter: "The auxilia were as good as the heavy infantry of almost any other nation in the world at that time. But the auxilia served for a shorter time, and when they finished their service, they became Roman citizens. Lots of people joined the auxilia for that reason alone."

To become a Roman solider you had to be of good character, bring a letter of recommendation and be in good physical shape. However, there were downsides. The period of service was long – 20 years for legionaries and 25 for auxiliaries, for example – and soldiers were not permitted to marry while they served until cAD 200, in the reign of Septimius Severus.

What's more, recruits had to undergo intense physical training, as Matyszak explains: "This consisted of marching very long distances carrying a heavy pack, jumping over a vaulting horse while in full armour and practising with the *rudis* – a wooden sword that weighed more than the standard legionary sword. Recruits had to spend a couple of hours every day whacking away at a wooden post just to build up their arm muscles, so they could last in combat."

But this brutal training was for good reason; Roman soldiers had to be the best of the best. "The Roman legions went into battle expecting to win. Their enemies went into battle expecting to lose".

GETTY IMAGES X2, ALAMY X1, ARCANGEL X1

HADRIAN'S WALL

The mammoth wall was built along the Empire's northern frontier

Completed around AD 128, this 73-mile stone wall protected the Roman Empire's northern frontier in Britannia. Believed to have been commissioned by Emperor Hadrian (its namesake), the wall took six years to build and was about 3m wide. Stretching from coast to coast, the wall had a ditch running along it, as well as forts where solders were stationed. After the Romans left Britannia, the wall continued to be manned for a short while before being left to ruin. Only ten per cent of the original fortification can be seen today.

However, the forts along the wall that did survive have revealed a wealth of information about the soldiers garrisoned there, including that they had access to flushing latrines. The names of some soldiers who built the wall have also been found inscribed onto stones.

Today, the significance of Hadrian's Wall is chiefly historical: despite popular belief, the wall never played a role in mapping the border between England and Scotland.

The sun shines on a stretch of Hadrian's Wall at Walltown Crags in Northumberland; the original wall was 73 miles long

Rome's legions became a formidable fighting force – so much so they gained an aura of invincibility

HOW DID THE ARMY FIGHT?

The armies of Ancient Rome were formidable, flexible, and fierce

The success of the Roman army owes much to its detailed and sophisticated command structure, which allowed flexibility in battle. Its dominance in terms of technology and hardware came in the form of their weapon choice. "The Romans fought with a shield in their left hand and a short, stabbing sword held at hip height in their right", says Matyszak. "They would advance shoulder to shoulder upon the enemy like this, stabbing in a forward and back motion, as one unit. The slightly curved shield meant that if an injured soldier needed to drop back into the ranks, he could turn his shield to cover his retreat, as well as protect the soldier stepping forward to replace him."

GALEA

These helmets had cheek guards to give the wearer extra protection as well as a trim for the neck and forehead. A plume of horse hair was sometimes added to give extra height or make the soldier appear more imposing.

SCUTUM

The large rectangular or oval *scutum* (shield) was used for protection, but it doubled up as a punching weapon. One battle formation that made use of the *scuta* was the *testudo* (tortoise) formation – soldiers gathered close and aligned their shields both in front and on top to protect the whole unit from attacks from the enemy ahead of them and projectiles from above.

1/10

Decimation was a form of military punishment with an arbitrary twist. Soldiers were split into groups of ten and drew lots: whoever took the short lot would be killed, and the other nine would be the ones to perform the execution. This 'removal of a tenth' was used in cases of mutiny, desertion and other capital offences.

LORICA

Roman soldiers wore many different types of armour – or *lorica*. The most recognisable piece consisted of iron hoops worn around the torso, but some soldiers donned chain mail or scale armour instead. A woollen tunic was worn underneath their armour.

BALTEUS

Soldiers wore leather belts over their armour, which could hold weapons. Trousers were not considered appropriate attire for soldiers, but those in colder climates were allowed short trousers made of wool or leather that reached just below the knee.

GLADIUS

Measuring 60 centimetres, this double-edged sword was normally used for hand-to-hand combat. Every soldier wore this weapon on their right side so that the entire legion would thrust their swords as one.

CALIGAE

These open sandals don't look like they'd provide much support during battle, but the key is in the design. Made of soft leather, soldiers could march in them for miles without discomfort. Studs in the bottom gave grip and were useful for treading on fallen enemies.

This 19th-century painting captures the excitement of a Roman chariot race

MANY COLOURS
Rome had several chariot racing teams, sometimes called factions, which could be identified by their colours.

RISKY BUSINESS
Rome's *Circus Maximus* had capacity to hold 150,000 spectators, but even watching the races could be dangerous. In the reign of Diocletian (284-305 AD) a section of the stands collapsed, killing around 13,000 people.

FEEDING ON FAME
According to one story, when the crowd grew restless at Emperor Nero, who was taking too long to finish his lunch, he threw his napkin from the imperial box as a sign that he had finished and the games could continue.

NEIGH PROBLEM
Chariots were usually pulled by a team of four horses (although two or six horses could also be used). They completed seven laps of the arena (about 8.4 km).

LEISURE AND GAMES

When it came to fun, the Ancient Romans weren't all that different from us

WORDS: CHARLOTTE HODGMAN

One of the most enduring images of Ancient Rome, and one that has inspired countless films and books, is that of the Roman gladiator fighting for his life in a packed arena of screaming spectators. But, says historian Philip Matyszak, gladiatorial combats weren't the most popular form of public entertainment – and they weren't even all that common.

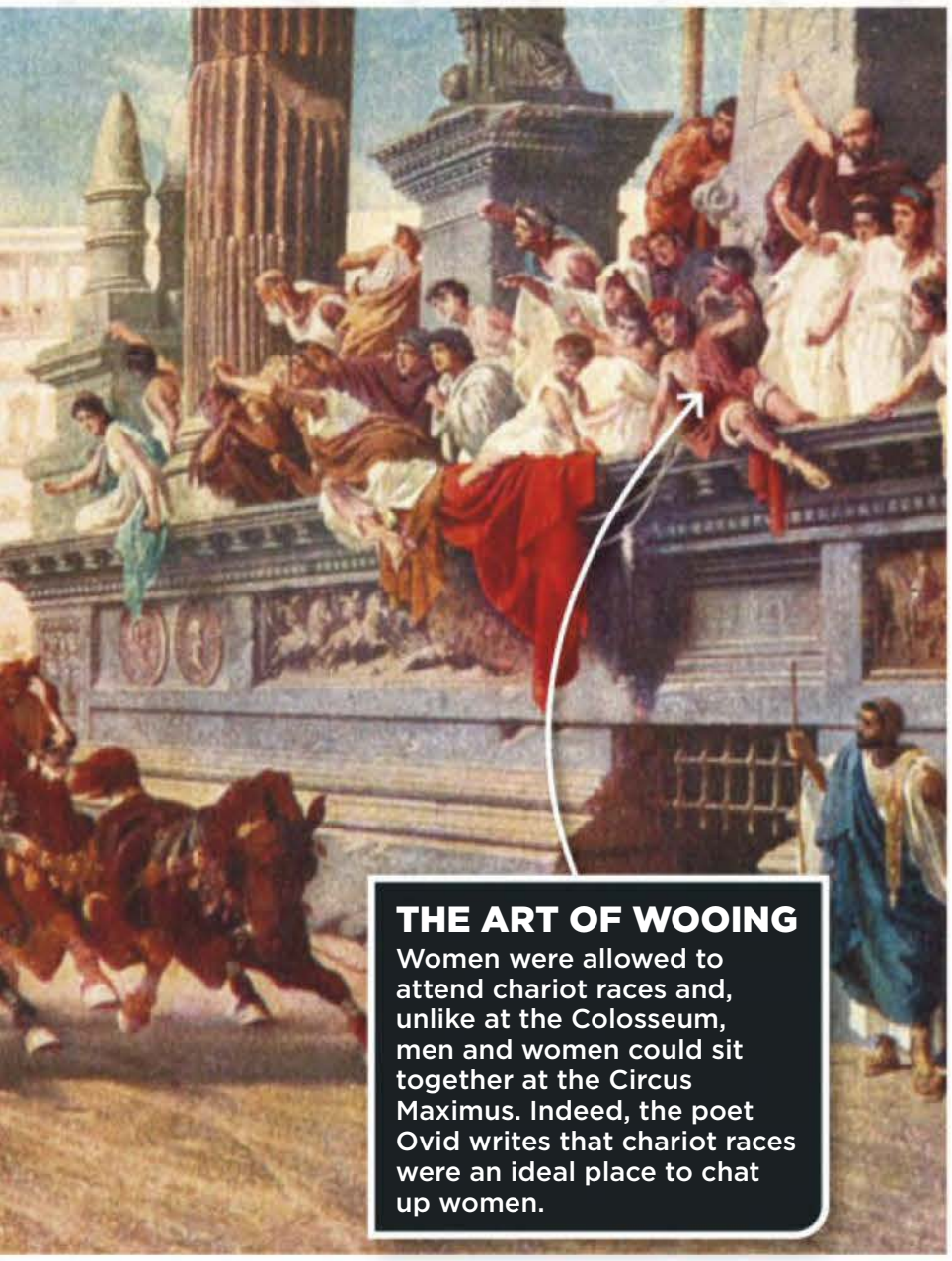
"A professional gladiator would probably expect to fight about two or three times a year", says Matyszak, "and fights to the death were pretty uncommon. Gladiator schools worked by the rule of 'if you break it, you pay for it', so if a gladiator were to be killed in combat, the person staging the games – the editor – would carry the cost of replacing him."

THE BEAUTIFUL (ROMAN) GAME

The biggest form of public entertainment in Ancient Rome was chariot racing, and tens of thousands of people flocked to the *Circus Maximus* – the oldest and largest public space in Rome – to cheer on their favourite chariot teams. Much like the football teams of today, charioteers, and their horses, could become favourites of the crowd and win large sums of cash. One of the most famous Roman charioteers in history was Flavius Scorpus, a first-century AD slave who rode for the green faction and accumulated more than 2,000 victories in his lifetime (he died at the tender age of 26 or 27, although had managed to buy his freedom).

"Chariot racing was an incredibly dangerous sport", says Matyszak. "The two-wheeled racing chariots, pulled by two, four or six-horse teams, were light and smashed easily in collisions; drivers could be crushed or become entangled in the reins and dragged to their deaths."

Ancient Romans tended to work a four or five-hour day, which left plenty of time for leisure. Other popular pursuits included board games, including a version of chess – the rules of which, claims Matyszak, no modern person has been able to work out. As well as board games, swimming in the Tiber, exercise and equestrianship were popular leisure pastimes for men. Aristocratic women, who weren't expected to maintain peak fitness, attended social gatherings, or perfected their spinning or weaving.



THE ART OF WOOING
Women were allowed to attend chariot races and, unlike at the Colosseum, men and women could sit together at the Circus Maximus. Indeed, the poet Ovid writes that chariot races were an ideal place to chat up women.

FEROCIOUS FIGHTERS

Gladiators were the celebrities of the Roman Empire – fit, fast and fearsome

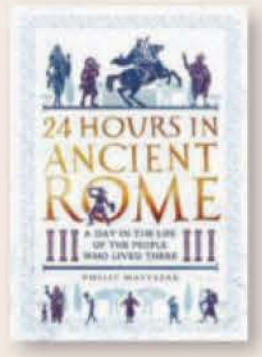
According to the Romans, the first gladiators were slaves who were forced to fight to the death at an aristocratic funeral in 264 BC, as a way of honouring their master's memory. But as time went on, gladiator fights became a way for emperors and other rich Roman citizens to display their wealth and power. Most, but not all, gladiators were slaves: free-born men who took the gladiatorial oath received a handsome down payment. Styles of fighting and equipment differed according to the type of gladiator. The *murmillo*, for example, fought with a large, oblong shield, while the *retiarius* had only a shoulder guard to protect him and wielded a trident and net. But to the working classes, gladiators were the heroes of the day. Graffiti from Pompeii attests to their popularity and celebrity status: "*Celadus, suspirium puellarum*" (Celadus makes the girls swoon).

Each type of gladiator had their own armour and weaponry

GET HOOKED

If we've whetted your appetite for all things Roman, why not explore the topic further with our selection of books, films and podcasts

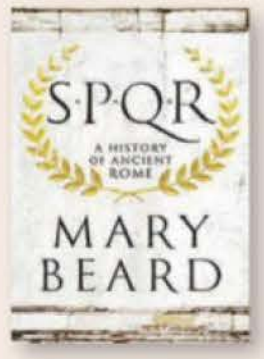
BOOKS



24 Hours in Ancient Rome

By Dr Philip Matyszak (Michael O'Mara, 2017)

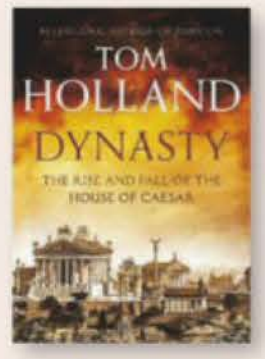
What was it like to live in one of the ancient world's most powerful and bustling cities – one that was eight times more densely populated than modern-day New York? Philip Matyszak introduces us to the people who lived and worked there – from gladiators, slaves and astrologers, to medicine women and a water-clock maker.



SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome

By Mary Beard (Liveright, 2017)

Classicist Mary Beard narrates the unprecedented rise of a civilisation that even two thousand years later still shapes many of our most fundamental assumptions about power, citizenship, responsibility, political violence, empire, luxury, and beauty.



Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of the House of Caesar

By Tom Holland (Little, Brown, 2015)

Tom Holland gives a fascinating portrait of Rome's first imperial dynasty – from Tiberius, the great general who ended up a bitter recluse, notorious for his perversions, to Agrippina, the mother of Nero, who manoeuvered to bring to power the son who would end up having her murdered.

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Mary Beard looks beyond the emperors, armies, guts and gore to meet the people at the heart of ancient Rome's vast empire.

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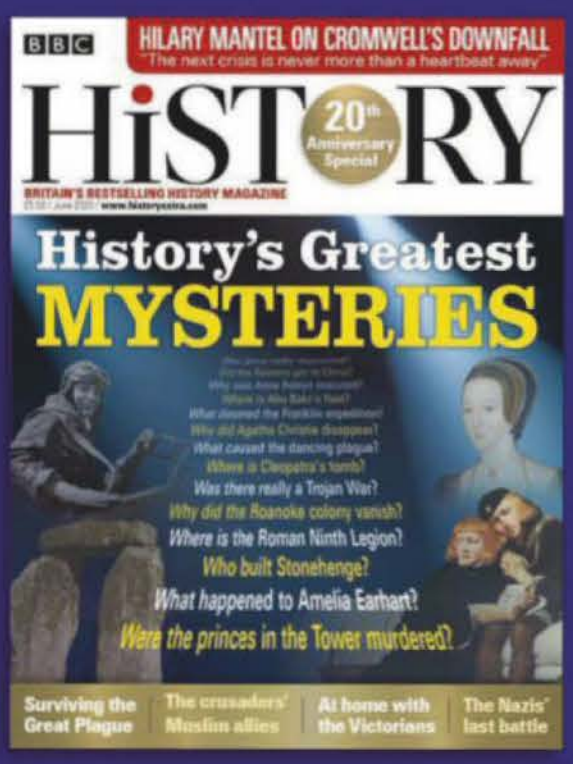
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INTO THE AMAZON

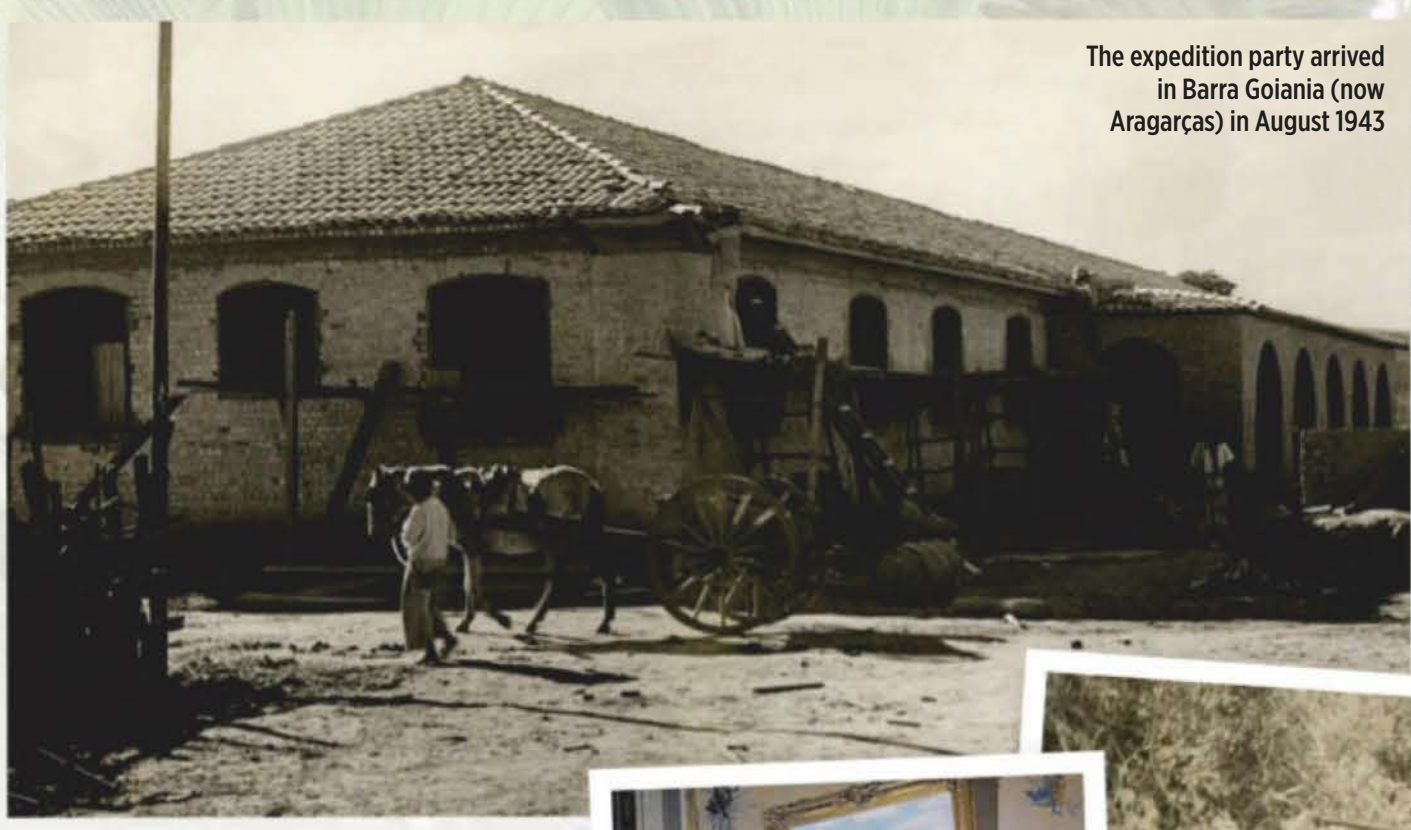
THE VILLAS-BÔAS BROTHERS' EXTRAORDINARY EXPEDITION

Pat Kinsella follows the footsteps of the Roncador-Xingu expedition – a trail through the Brazilian rainforest and across one of Earth's final frontiers that led to the establishment of a unique national park

ABOVE: **The Kamayurá village in Xingu Indigenous Park**

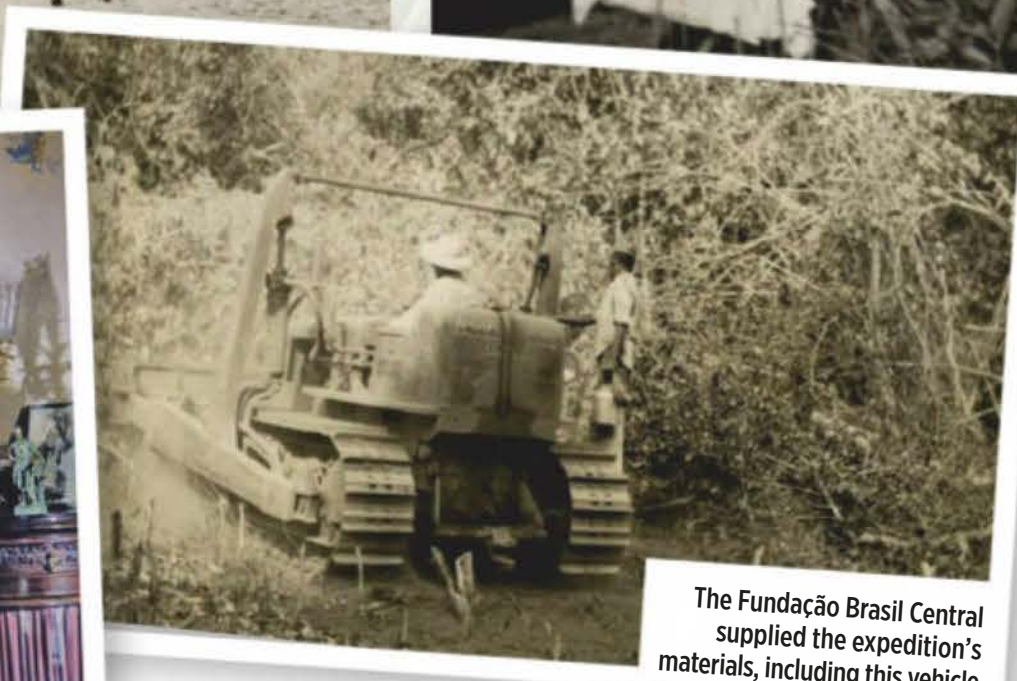
BELOW: **Cláudio (*left*) and Orlando Villas-Bôas were two leaders of the Roncador-Xingu Expedition, along with their brother Leonardo**

GETTY X1, ARQUIVO NACIONAL/CORREIO DA MANHÃ, BRAZIL X1



The expedition party arrived in Barra Goiania (now Aragarças) in August 1943

Brazil's dictator-president Getúlio Vargas was determined to 'unlock' the Amazon



The Fundação Brasil Central supplied the expedition's materials, including this vehicle

In the mid-20th century – decades after the planet's polar extremes had been traversed, and Europeans had ventured across North America and Australia – much of inland Brazil remained utterly unexplored. The major rivers had been travelled, but between them lay an enormous enigmatic region, populated by people who were completely cut off from everyone else on Earth.

In 1943, as World War II raged, Brazil's dictator-president Getúlio Vargas decreed he'd unlock the mystery. The grand exploratory project – named 'March to the West' – was spearheaded by the Expedição Roncador-Xingu.

Tasked with opening up lines of communication through central Brazil and the Amazon, the party went on to pioneer an almost 1,200-mile route that took them from the Goiás–Mato Grosso border, across the 'River of Death', through the unknown hinterland inhabited by the fearsome Xavante people, and over the Sierra do Roncador mountain range to the Xingu River.

The group was led by three young brothers, whose thirst for adventure had been awakened by a newspaper article announcing the expedition. Orlando, Cláudio and Leonardo Villas-Bôas dodged arrows and experienced multiple brushes with death during their quest, but they learned to love the indigenous cultures they encountered. The trio subsequently dedicated their lives to protecting the people they'd unwittingly exposed to disease and the greed of a rapacious outside world.

A ROCKY START

The brothers didn't lead the mission from the outset. When they first tried to enlist, they were rejected for being too soft.

The expedition was officially fronted by Colonel Flaviano de Mattos Vanique, chief of the presidential guard, who reported to João Alberto Lins de Barros, president of the new Fundação Brasil Central (FBC, Central Brazil Foundation).

"The Villas-Bôas brothers dodged arrows and experienced multiple brushes with death"

But Vanique had never experienced rainforests, and the prospect appalled him. He insisted on recruiting only 'rough-and-ready' frontier types, and the well-educated Villas-Bôas brothers from São Paulo's suburbs didn't fit the bill. "You cannot imagine the region we are going to penetrate," Vanique said. "It is the centre of the country, full of wild Indians, jaguars and so forth."

Having given up good jobs, made provisions for the care of their four younger siblings (the children were all orphaned) and set their hearts on the adventure, the brothers didn't simply give up. Travelling by train, trucks and carts, Cláudio and Leonardo followed the expedition for over 930 miles, to the upper Araguaia River.

Here, on 1 January 1944, they managed to get on the FBC payroll as expeditionaries, this time carefully concealing their education by signing the register "X", like the other illiterate men (a mix of miners and miscreants, some on the run from murder charges). They then sent word to their older brother, Orlando, who was working out his resignation with Standard Oil.

During March and April, the expedition pushed on from Araguaia, traversing terrible tracks and rough routes to Xavantina on the southern bank of Rio das Mortes (the River of Death). This was the frontier – the edge of the pale. Beyond this point, the group were at the mercy of attack from possibly hostile indigenous people.

Fear haunted the camp as they prepared to cross the river. According to one account, recorded by Acary de Passos Oliveira, the first fatality among the explorers resulted from a gunshot fired during an argument between terrified team members – they'd been debating the likelihood of a Xavante attack.

ARQUIVO NACIONAL/EXPOSIÇÕES VIRTUAIS X4, GETTY IMAGES X2, ALAMY X1

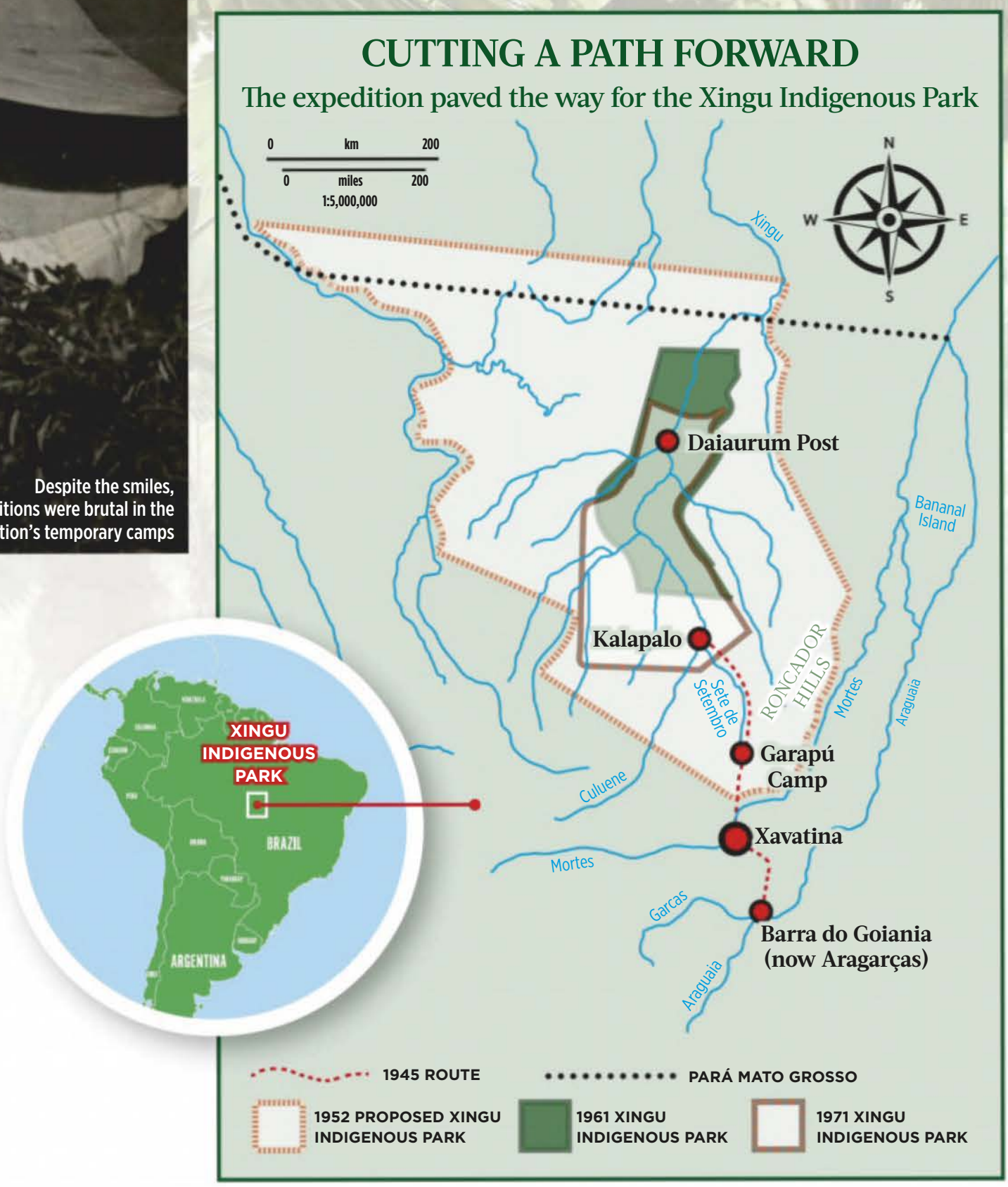
Despite the smiles, conditions were brutal in the expedition's temporary camps

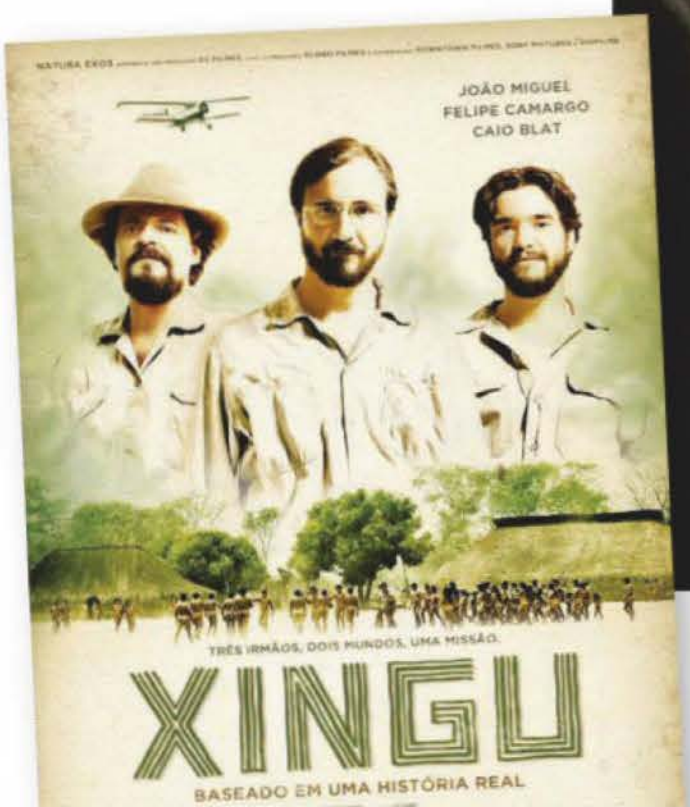
Meanwhile, thanks to a chance encounter with Dr Horace Laing, an English engineer who'd been friendly with their parents and who was now working on mission logistics, the Villas Bôas brothers had been promoted to the expedition party proper. Cláudio was in charge of personnel, and Leonardo worked as Dr Laing's assistant. They updated their brother Orlando, and he rushed to join them.

GOING UP IN THE WORLD

During a visit to the camp, Minister Lins de Barros observed the Villas Bôas brothers. Recognising their leadership qualities, he asked them to helm the expeditionary party as it pushed forwards towards the Xingu, placating Vanique's vanity by telling him he would remain in charge of the all-important base camp.

President Vargas himself visited to bid the expedition farewell, an occasion marked by both patriotic fanfare and pantomimic farce. The ceremony culminated with a burst of fireworks, which sent the party's precious pack animals fleeing into the bush, some spilling their loads as they went.





ABOVE: **Men display the impressive catches that they've reeled in from the Rio das Mortes (River of the Dead)**
LEFT: **The brothers' story was dramatised in the 2011 Brazilian film *Xingu***

PEOPLE OF THE XINGU

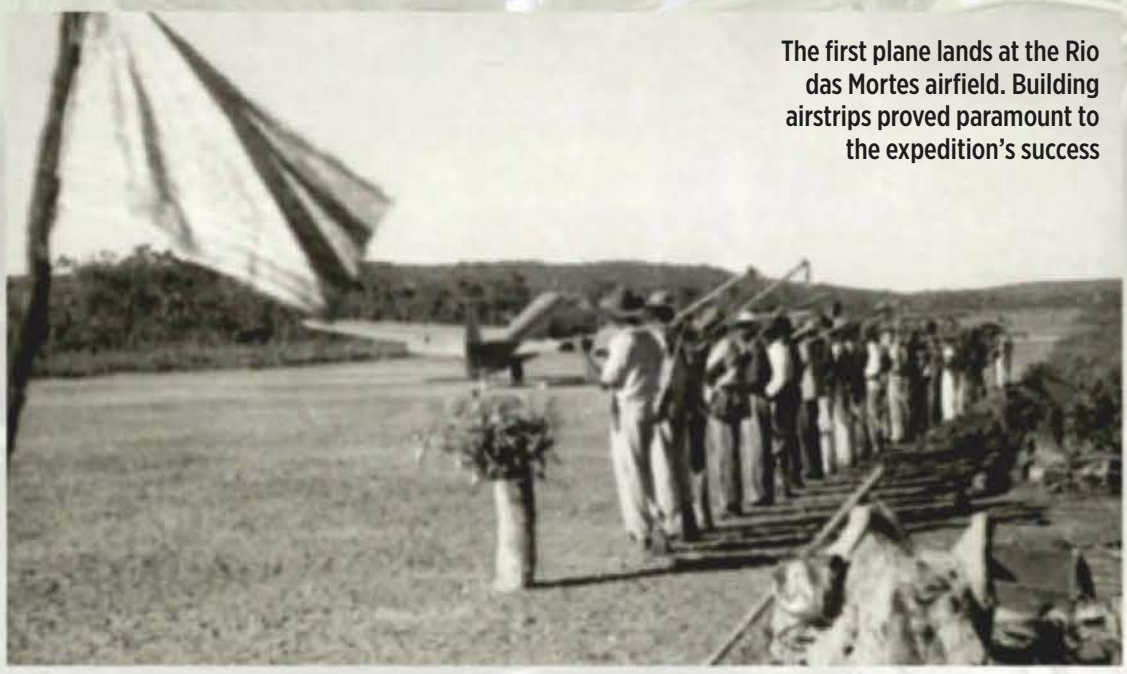
Today, hundreds of indigenous people call the Xingu Indigenous Park home

At least 16 ethnic groups now live wholly or partially within Xingu Indigenous Park. Although they speak different languages, ten of these indigenous groups share similar cultural values, animist beliefs, behaviours and diets – and they even intermarry. The largest of these ethnic groups is the Kuikuro, who, according to the most recent data, number 592 people, followed by the Kalapalo (569), Kamaiurá (544), Wauja (487), Trumaí (258), Mehináko (254), Yawalapiti (237), Aweti (196), Matipu (149) and the Nahukwá (146). Other peoples within the park include the Ikpeng, Kaiabi, Kisêdjê, Yudja, Tapayuna and Naruvotu. Many indigenous groups migrated into the park for protection, but others were brought by administrative order, which in some cases meant forced removal from their villages. All face serious existential threats from deforestation and climate change.

ABOVE: **A Panará male elder wears a crown crafted from blue parrot feathers. The Panará were moved to the park by the Villas-Bôas brothers but returned to their traditional land in the mid-1990s**

BELOW: **Yawalapiti women carry manioc – a staple Amazon foodstuff**

ALAMY X2, ARQUIVO NACIONAL/EXPOSIÇÕES VIRTUAIS X4



The first plane lands at the Rio das Mortes airfield. Building airstrips proved paramount to the expedition's success

David Nasser and Jean Manzon were two members of the press who used the airstrips

"The party instantly encountered multiple horrors, including ticks and insects that sucked their blood and the moisture from their eyes"

STRANGE LANDS

Eventually, on 12 June 1945, the 50 man expedition crossed the river, bound for a hinterland "more distant than Africa". Besides fretting about the constant threat of attack, the party instantly encountered multiple horrors, including ticks and insects that sucked their blood and the moisture from their eyes, severe humidity, hunger, exhaustion and crippling dehydration.

During the heat of the day, they hacked tracks through the thick thorny campo bush. Their nights were mostly spent shivering on the stony ground, as the trees were too sparse to string up hammocks. Progress was painfully slow, and they rarely advanced more than three miles a day. Meagre amounts of food were occasionally airdropped in by Vanique, who appeared bitter about the Villas Bôas' promotion.

Although they got on well with their cutting parties, who told tales and sang songs around the campfire in the evenings, the brothers were worried about the men's attitudes towards the Amazon's indigenous peoples. Full of fear, they always carried guns and were prepared to shoot first in any threatening situation. Colonel Vanique had suggested sending a squadron of heavily armed soldiers with the expedition, but Brazil's Serviço de Proteção aos Índio (SPI, Indian Protection Service) forbade it.

For their part, when it came to indigenous encounters, the Villas Bôas brothers were determined to live by the motto of that great Brazilian pioneer Cândido Rondon, the soldier and frontiersman invited by the Brazilian

DID YOU KNOW?

HARPING ON

Village chiefs in many Xingu communities keep a fierce, untamed harpy eagle in a wooden cage as a link between themselves and the spirit world. The eagle also provides validation of high status and leadership for the village chief.

government to lead the SPI: "Die maybe, kill never."

On 28 July 1945, six weeks after crossing Rio das Mortes, the party suddenly heard a commotion to their right. The group had sensed eyes observing them for weeks, but no direct contact had yet been made between the machete wielding interlopers and the Xavante. Now, it seemed, they were about to discover whether the tribal warriors deserved their fearsome reputation.

Cláudio spotted a metre high termite mound and immediately leapt onto it. With his head above the bush, he observed that the shouting to the right was a diversion. On the opposite side of the path the real threat loomed: around 40 attack ready Xavante warriors were silently running towards them.

Cláudio ordered the men to drop their machetes and fire their guns aiming not to kill, but to send shots high into the air. The confrontation was instantly over, with no casualties. "It was like water on fire," Cláudio later recorded.

Thereafter, aside from some small pilfering and the occasional volley of arrows fired more as a reminder that the expedition was being watched than in lethal aggression the Xavante largely left the party alone. For their part, whenever they encountered hurriedly deserted dwellings or hunting camps, the Villas Bôas made sure to leave gifts, including highly prized metal tools.

CONNECTING THE AMAZON

The expedition was supported by Força Aérea Brasileira (FAB, the Brazilian Air Force) and the Ministry of Aeronautics. Besides blazing trails, the group was tasked with building landing strips in the wilderness, so planes could hop along an aerial route linking Rio de Janeiro, Manaus and Miami.

In August September 1945, having cut just under 50 miles of trail, the party cleared its first airstrip. Planes dropped off supplies and also began carrying

ABOVE: **The hunting villages of the Xavante. Many of the explorers feared this indigenous people**

TOP: **An aerial view of the Garapú camp**

INSET: **Wild harpy eagles are kept by some village chiefs**

curious journalists. A story about the Roncador Xingu expedition appeared in Rio de Janeiro's *Correio da Manhã* (*Morning Post*) on 7 September 1945, and soon after Orlando began writing reports for the São Paulo newspaper *A Gazeta*. The adventurers soon became celebrities, with the public eagerly following their progress into the unknown.

They continued, over the tough terrain of the southern Serra do Roncador ('snoring hills') and through the

OTHER MAJOR PLAYERS

These explorers also made a name for themselves by heading into the unknown

CÂNDIDO RONDON (1865–1958)

◀ A Brazilian military officer and explorer who led expeditions in Mato Grosso and the western Amazon Basin. Partly descended from the Guaná, Terena and Bororo peoples, Rondon took a positive and pioneering approach to the treatment of indigenous people, many of whom he made first contact with while laying thousands of miles of telegraph lines through the Amazon rainforest. He was the first director of Brazil's Indian Protection Service (SPI, later FUNAI) and supported the creation of the Xingu National Park. He was nominated for the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize, and the Brazilian state of Rondônia is named in his honour.

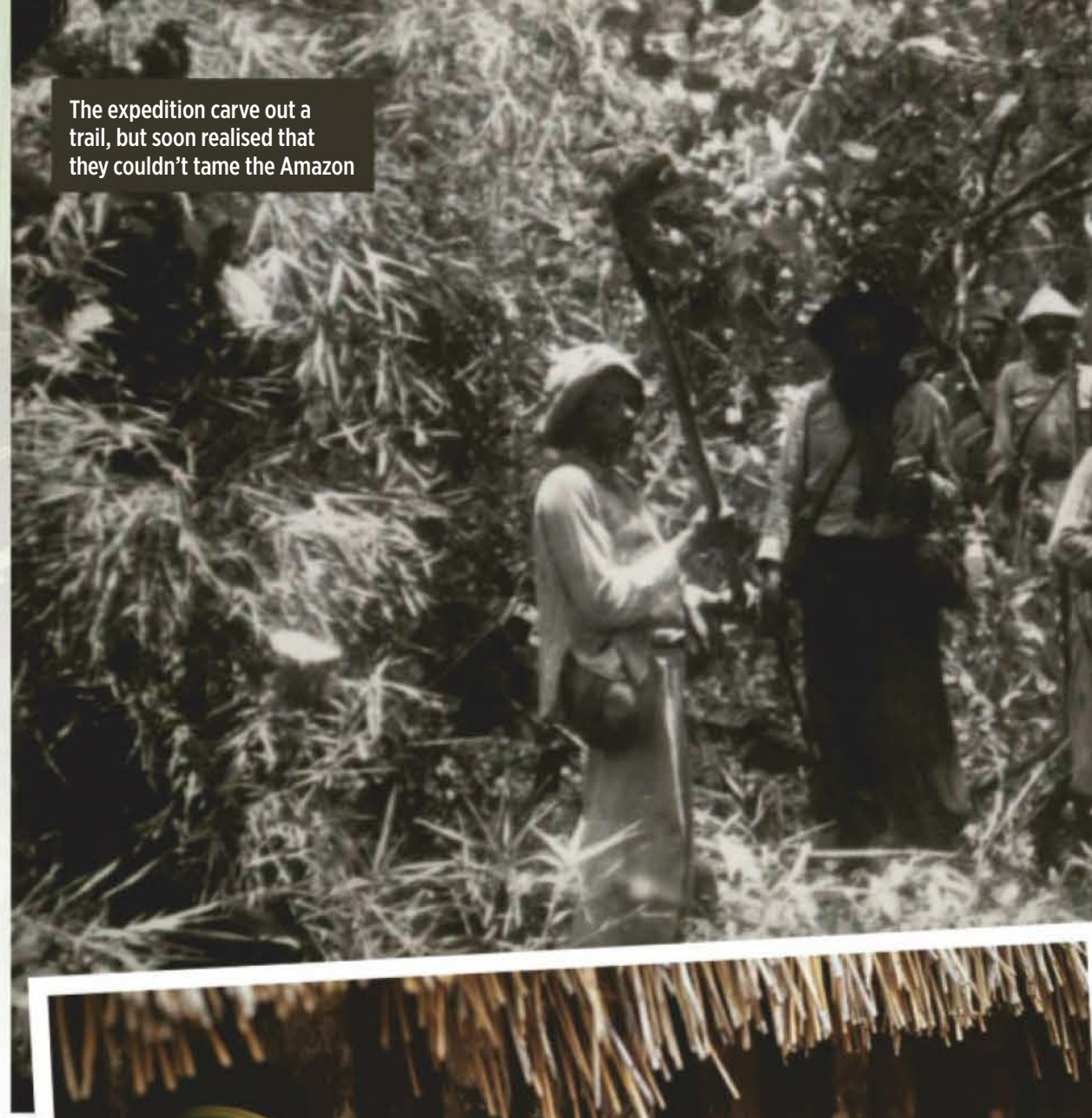
KARL VON DEN STEINEN (1855–1929)

◀ A German physician, ethnologist, explorer, author and pioneer of anthropology. In 1884 and between 1887–88 he made first contact with most of the indigenous people of the Xingu, having led expeditions into the region by approaching from Cuiabá in the southwest (along a slightly easier route than the one taken by the Roncador-Xingu party).

COLONEL PERCY FAWCETT (1867–1925)

▼ A British geographer, army officer, cartographer, archaeologist, spiritualist and explorer who became obsessed with finding the fabled Lost City of Z, supposedly hidden in the Mato Grosso rainforest. Fawcett disappeared during a three-man expedition into the area in 1925, along with his eldest son, Jack, and Raleigh Rimell. Orlando Villas-Bôas claimed the Kalapalo had admitted to killing the trio, who had apparently caused offence by exhibiting bad manners after being hosted by them.

RIGHT: Jack Fawcett travelled through Mato Grosso alongside his father, Percy, in search of the Lost City of Z. Their fate remains unknown



The expedition carve out a trail, but soon realised that they couldn't tame the Amazon

Panará women apply paint to their faces and bodies in preparation for a dance

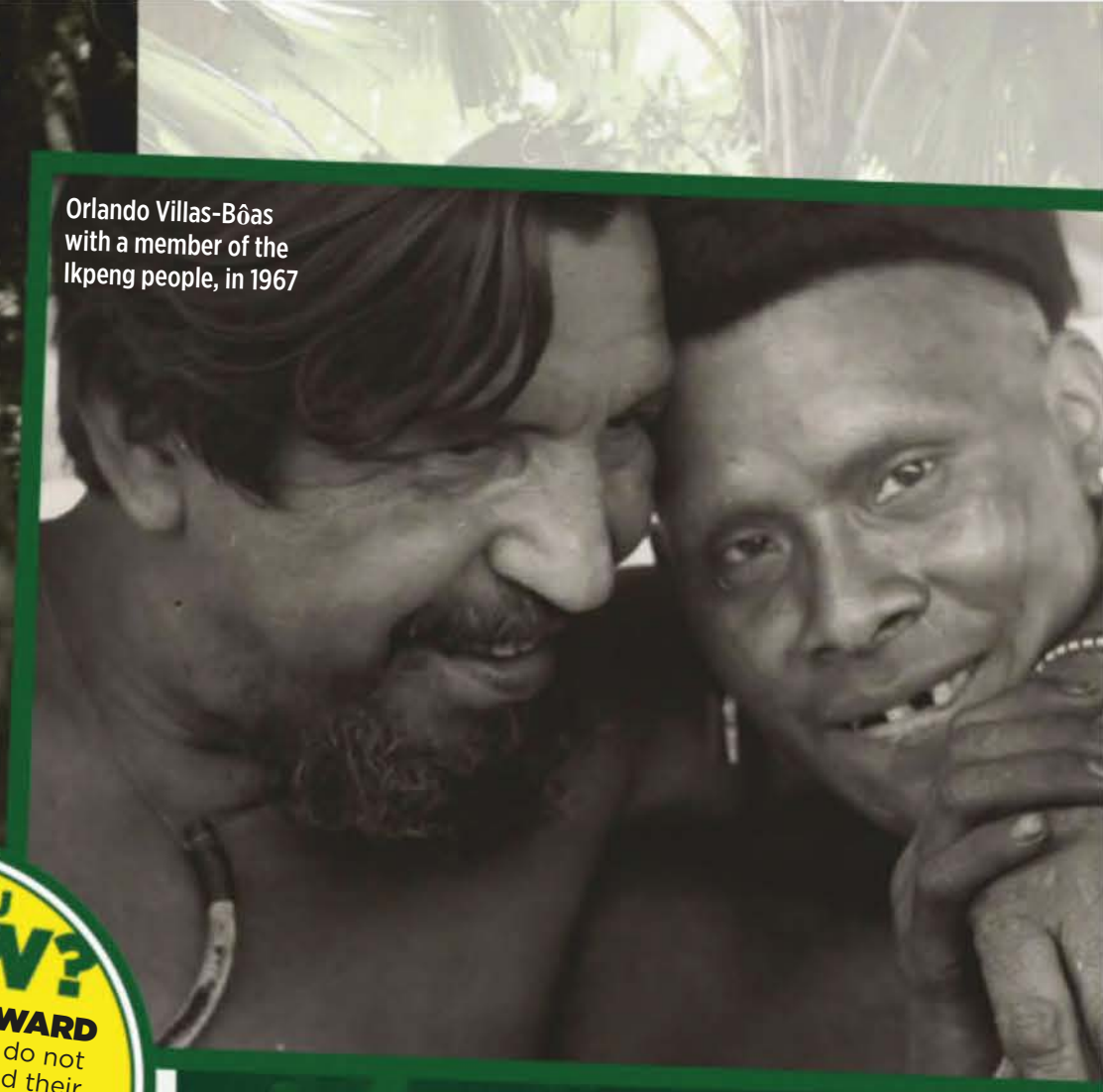
◀ forests of the upper Xingu River basin, reaching the headwaters of a river in December 1945. Here they established a camp and built another airstrip. Fresh provisions and new pack animals were brought in, but starvation gnawed at the party, which survived on the occasional slaughtered peccary, or native pig.

Woefully wet weather and petty politics within the party made life even more miserable. Most of the men were ill with malaria and violent dysentery, vomiting blood and incapable of leaving their hammocks, let alone cutting trails. Some deserted. One went mad, and Cláudio sent him back along the trail, having prevented his colleagues from simply shooting him.

Still, they inched onwards, following the course of the Sete de Setembro River. On New Year's Day 1946, the expedition finally left the savannah and cerrado behind and entered the rainforest proper. Here, in a place they called Garapú (after a native deer, the flesh of which supplied the group with life-saving sustenance) they established a major camp.

For three months, they sat out the rainy season. The group then spent April, May and June building an airstrip, accumulating supplies for the next stage of the journey, and hosting scientists, wildlife experts and journalists eager to record the findings of this frontier-forging mission. Boat builders were flown in to construct bark canoes and bigger boats for the upcoming river trip. The first of these craft was called *Carmen Miranda*, after the "Brazilian Bombshell" dancer and actress.

At the end of September, two boats and a bark canoe launched from Garapú to travel along the unexplored Sete de Setembro River. The waterway flowed



Orlando Villas-Bôas with a member of the Ikpeng people, in 1967

DID YOU KNOW?

BEST FOOT FORWARD

The Mehinaku people do not value privacy at all, and their huts, which can house 12 people, have no internal walls. They're so familiar with one another that they're able to recognise (and draw from memory) each others' footprints.

"It had long become clear that the original objective of taming the wilderness was totally unrealistic"

through an immense forest that was teeming with animals, but with no sign of human settlement.

Despite low water levels, they travelled over 62 miles in five days, and on 4 October 1946 they reached the choppy confluence with the much larger Culuene River, a major tributary of the Xingu. Rigging an aerial in a tree, Orlando triumphantly radioed news about "the complete success" of the taxing Roncador–Xingu expedition.

DANGEROUS OUTSIDERS

Days later, the Villas-Bôas experienced their first significant contact with indigenous people, meeting a bewildered young man from the Kalapalo people. The encounter was friendly, and the brothers were introduced to the group's leader, Chief Izarari. They went on to spend large periods of time with the Kalapalo, as well as meeting chiefs from nearby villages.

It had long become clear that the original expedition objective of taming the wilderness for settlement was totally unrealistic, and the focus had changed to building airstrips instead. A fourth landing area was cleared on the Culuene riverbank, and when a plane visited, the pilot took several chiefs up for a joy flight.

But the local population also experienced a devastating epidemic of influenza, unwittingly transported in with the new arrivals. The disease wiped out many indigenous people – including Chief Izarari – and left the Villas-Bôas guilt-stricken. The brothers became more determined than ever to protect the indigenous communities.

In March 1948, the Roncador-Xingu expedition was officially concluded; its mission of crossing the Serra do and reaching the Xingu was complete. But the journey had left the Villas-Bôas with a bigger quest to pursue: continuing to protect the indigenous peoples whose very existence had been put at risk by enterprises like their own Roncador-Xingu expedition, which had brought isolated communities into contact with an avaricious and disease-ridden world.

GET HOOKED

ONLINE

The virtual exhibition *A March to the West: the conquest of Central Brazil (1943-1967)* presents photographs of the Roncador-Xingu expedition from the collection of the Central Brazil Foundation (FBC) of the National Archives. Discover more at *bit.ly/2W5EQVa*

THE ADVENTURE CONTINUES

The Villas-Bôas brothers' legacy was far larger than this one expedition ...

As soon as the Roncador-Xingu expedition was declared complete, a new mission was launched. With Orlando Villas-Bôas as leader, the Xingu–Tapajós Expedition would continue pushing westward, past Diauarum ('black jaguar') to the Amazon's next major tributary, hacking tracks and establishing airstrips en route.

The Villas-Bôas' expeditions lasted for 17 years, with the brothers pushing ever further into the Amazon, making contact with more than 100 indigenous peoples, cutting almost 1,000 miles of jungle paths and charting six previously unknown rivers. Their biggest legacy, however, was the creation of Xingu National Park (now Xingu Indigenous Park): an enormous expanse of protected terrain where indigenous cultures continue to live, and biodiversity is preserved against a growing list of threats.

Since the 1950s, the brothers had been lobbying the Brazilian government for a reservation where indigenous communities could live and defend their traditions against modernity and exploitation. They created an airstrip in north-eastern Mato Grosso, built a medical station, and in 1963 brought in a nurse called Marina (whom Orlando eventually married) to treat flu and other diseases.

Due to opposition from within the government and Mato Grosso ranchers, the park – created on 14 April 1961 – was only a quarter of the size originally proposed in 1952. The boundaries were significantly adjusted in 1971, and the final demarcation of the perimeter was made in 1978 (*see map on page 57*).

Leonardo (who controversially had a daughter with an indigenous woman) died in 1961. Orlando and Cláudio were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971 and 1975. Cláudio died in 1998, and Orlando passed away in 2002.

ALAMY X3, GETTY IMAGES X2, ARQUIVO NACIONAL/EXPOSIÇÕES VIRTUAIS X1, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/J.P. VILLAS BÔAS FAMILY ARCHIVE X1

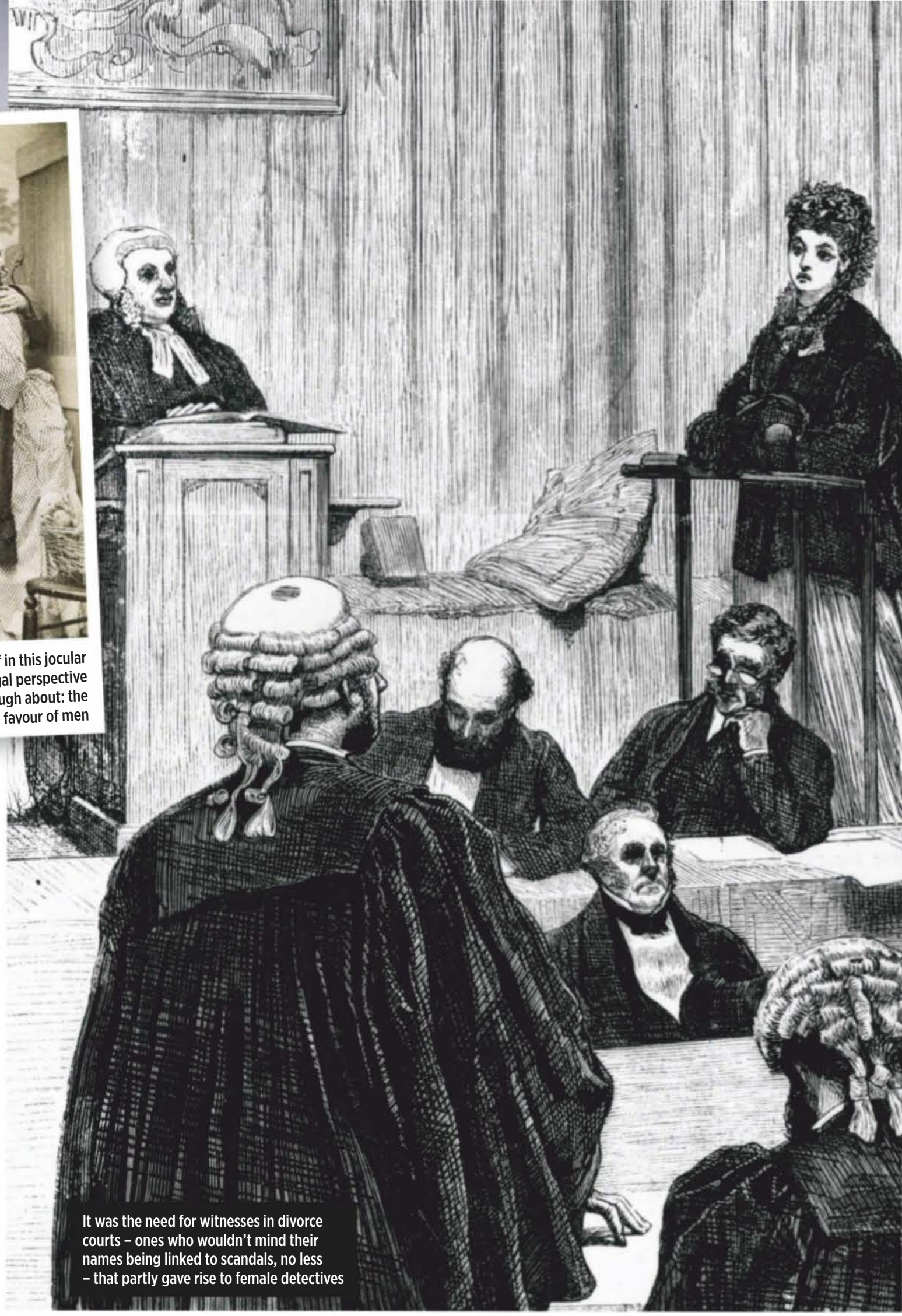
THE CURIOUS CASE OF THE FEMALE DETECTIVES

From the mid-19th century onwards, an increasing number of women discovered a new career, one that offered freedom, excitement and subterfuge. **Nell Darby** explores why female private detectives came to be in such demand...

ALAMY X1

This isn't a robbery: the seated man is in fact the robber, and women is a sleuth who has exposed him to an armed policeman – who's just broken his disguise as a servant

Adultery is made light of in this jocular postcard, but from a legal perspective there was little to laugh about: the power was firmly in favour of men



It was the need for witnesses in divorce courts – ones who wouldn't mind their names being linked to scandals, no less – that partly gave rise to female detectives

In 1858, the Matrimonial Causes Act of the previous year came into force. Although it is chiefly remembered for opening up divorce to the non-elites, it also had a significant side effect: it created a new market for private detectives, a market that would grow over the course of the next half a century and open up a new career path for many women.

The new law enabled both men and women to petition for divorce from their partner without the need for a private parliamentary act, as had previously been the case. Men could seek a divorce on the grounds of their wives' adultery, but women, in this patriarchal, unfair society, had to not only prove that their husband had committed adultery, but also needed an additional cause, such as his having deserted her, or been cruel or abusive to her.

In order to prove adultery, a husband or wife's word was not enough. They needed hard facts, and preferably a witness to back up their claims. But who would be willing to stand as a witness, and possibly appear in a divorce court? Divorces would rapidly become big news – the ever-popular, ever-growing press quickly learned to fill their pages with these scandalous stories (adultery, of course, meant they could include tales of illicit sex, much to the disapproval of Queen Victoria).

Witnesses would have their evidence included in press reports, their names made public, and this was clearly not attractive to many members of polite society. Therefore other people, not related to the parties involved, were needed. Enter the private detective.

THE STING IN THE TAIL

Private detectives could 'tail' or watch a spouse suspected of adultery. They usually referred to this as 'shadowing': following a man or woman to hopefully see them meet up with a lover, perhaps disappearing into a hotel, only to re-emerge hours later. They might take on a position within the couple's household, in the hope of overhearing suspicious conversations. Or they might even find an opportunity to become a separate spouse's fellow lodger in a boarding house, or resident in a neighbouring set of rooms, or arrange a 'random' meeting in which they could start conversing and strike up a friendship, where confidences might be expressed.

Although this was a male-driven society – where men had the best jobs, and where women were expected to be the 'angel of the house', domestic

GETTY IMAGES X4

and act the part.

This was the case with Laura Hoskins, who in 1901 took rooms in the same building as Margaret Larimie, and developed a friendship with her. The women were soon sharing confidences, leading to John Larimie – who had employed Laura as a private detective – gaining a divorce on the grounds of Margaret's now-admitted adultery.

The number of female detectives grew alongside the increasing rate of divorces during the latter half of the 19th century, with the 1890s through to the inter-war period proving something of a golden era for the profession. The publication of Arthur Conan Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes* stories led to real private detectives receiving a greater amount of publicity and interest than had ever occurred before.

FEMALE SHERLOCKS

Female sleuths were initially reported in anonymous terms, and then as individuals employed by male detectives. But as time progressed, more and more female detectives were named in press reports. Some of these 'female Sherlocks' started either in admin roles at established detective agencies, learning on the job and subsequently becoming detectives themselves, while others were married to police detectives and learned their skills from their husbands' teaching. Some simply set up and learned as they worked, with no prior knowledge.

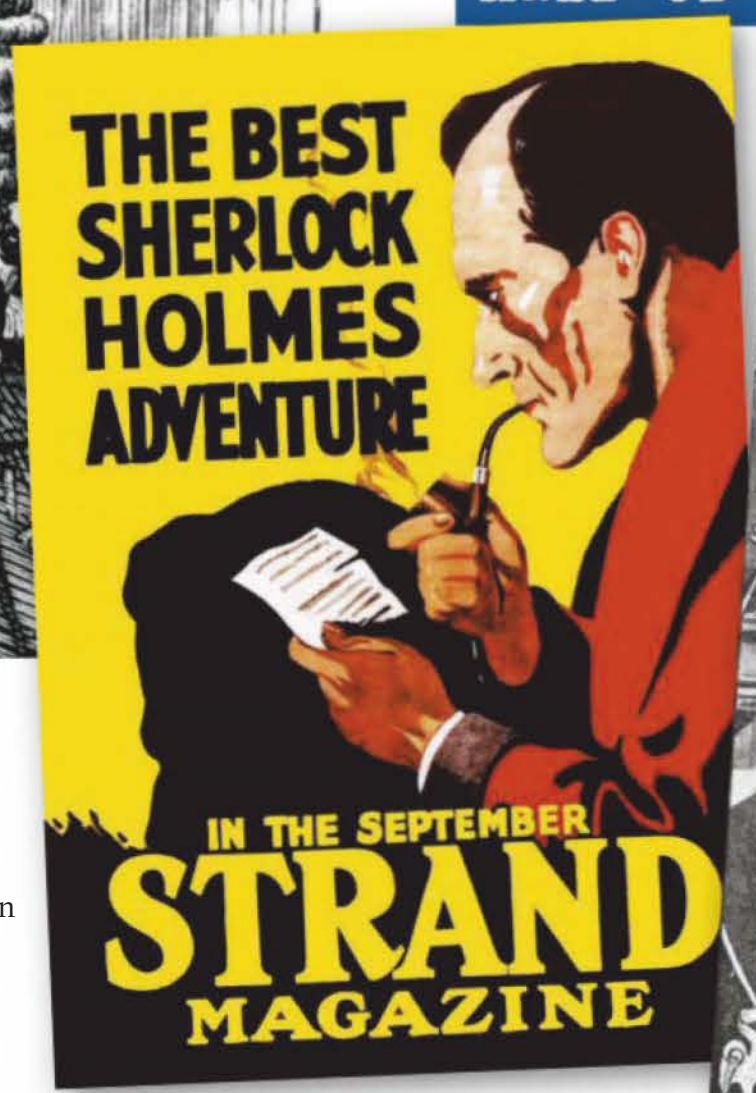
These female detectives came from wide backgrounds – wider perhaps than their male equivalents, who were often from lower middle-class families, and who had previously been working as police officers or solicitor's clerks, for example. These were women who had gained more education than earlier Victorian women, thanks to parliamentary legislation and the expansion of elementary schooling; women who were reading about people with exciting careers and independence, who featured in the newspapers, short stories and adventure tales of the penny dreadfuls.

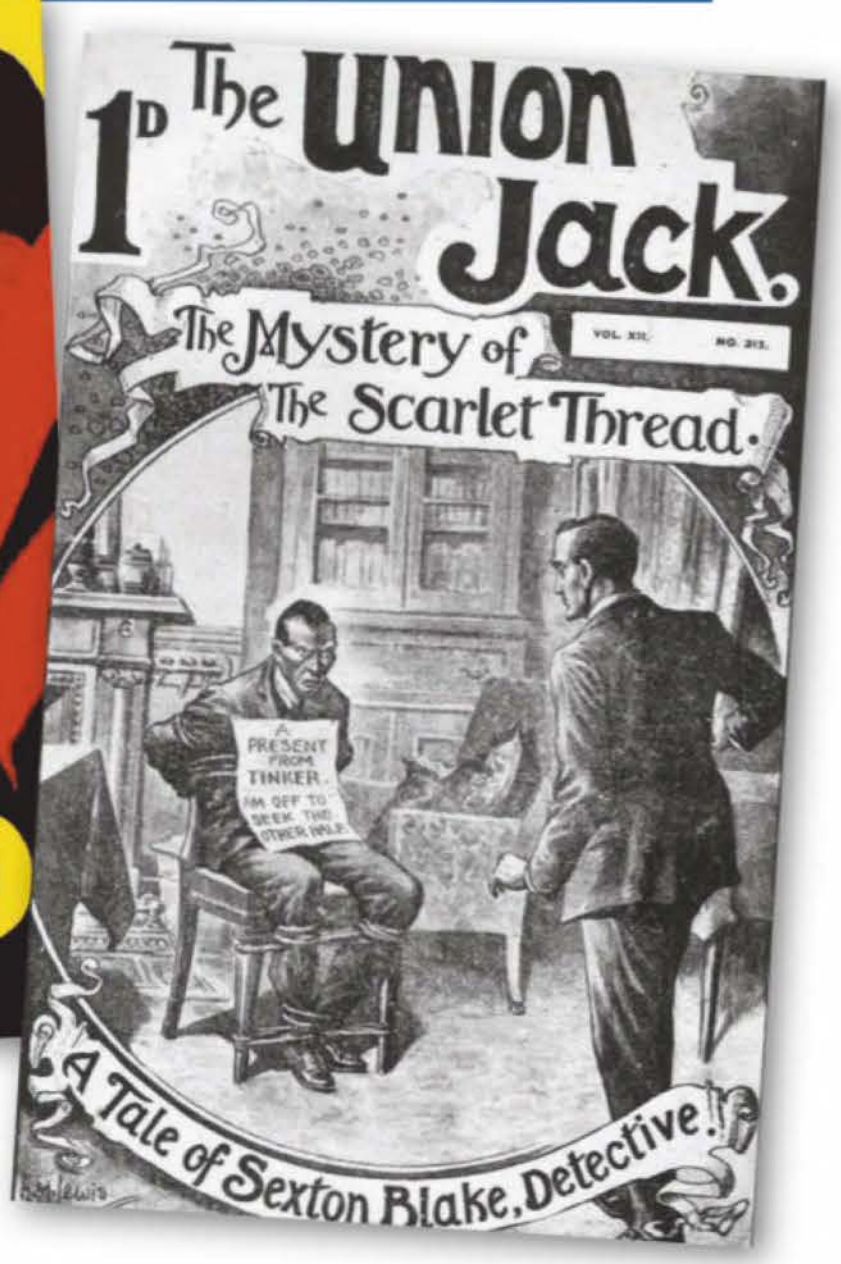
Even in the 1860s, female detectives ▶

> "The number of female detectives grew alongside the increasing rate of divorces during the latter half of the 19th century"

goddesses – it soon became apparent that this was not a job that men were necessarily the best at.

Men could not infiltrate women's lives in the same ways that other women could. They stood out, they caused suspicion, and they could not develop friendships with wives suspected of having a lover elsewhere. But a woman could become a household servant or a lady's companion, and gain the trust of a suspected wife. She could converse, gossip with that wife, fake interest,




1D The Union Jack.
The Mystery of The Scarlet Thread.
A PRESENT FROM TINKER. AM OFF TO SEEK THE OTHER HALF.
A Tale of Sexton Blake, Detective.

Exciting tales of detectives – whether Sherlock Holmes in *The Strand* or lesser-known investigators in the penny dreadfuls – gave the career of a sleuth a certain allure

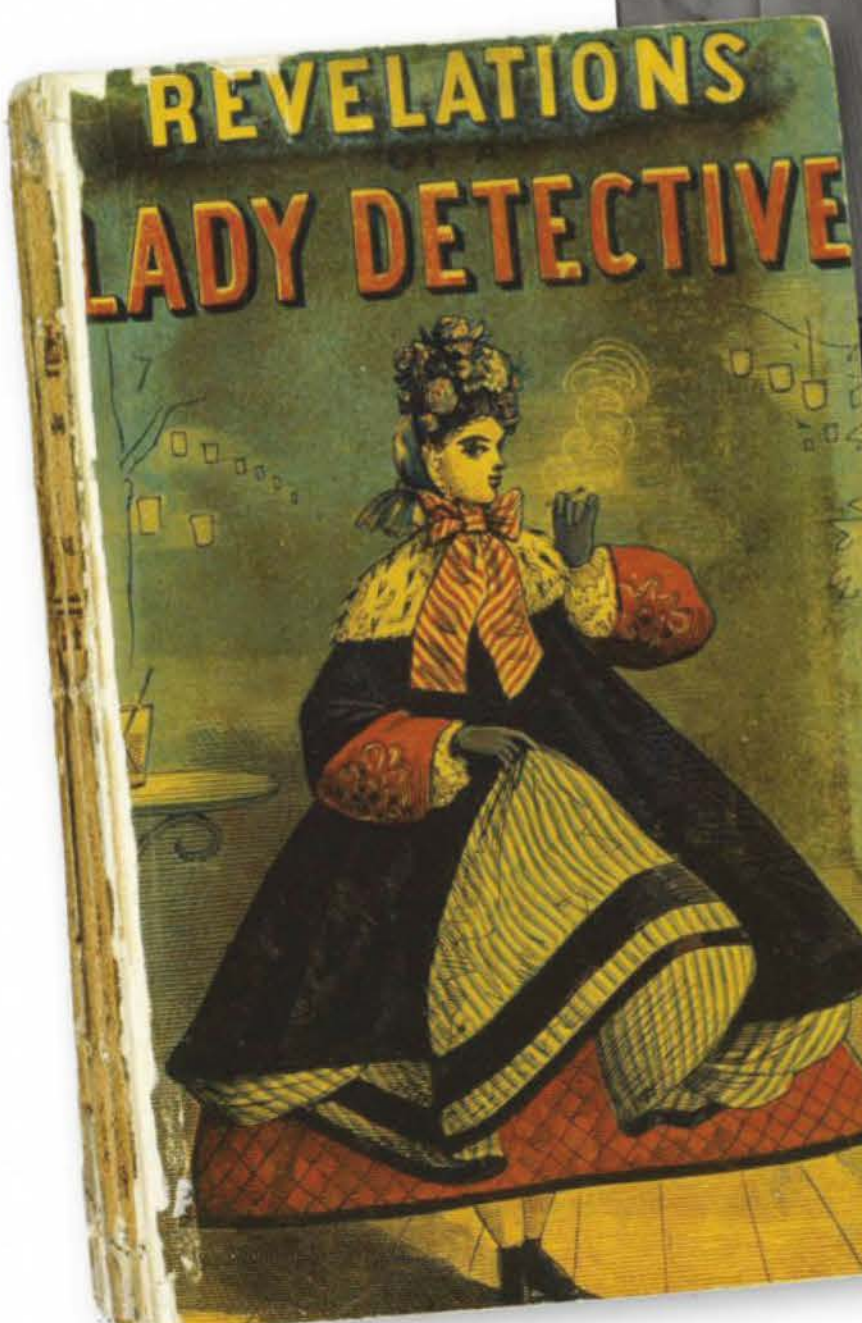
had featured in a couple of novels, offering women an alternative view of life from that traditionally expected from them. It was no coincidence that the women's suffrage movement was gaining traction, and several female detectives would also be strong supporters of the suffragists.

While these women were increasingly becoming their own bosses, established male detectives, such as Henry Slater and Maurice Moser (whose own former protégé and lover, Antonia Moser, would subsequently set up her own detective agency), continued to use female detectives in divorce cases, drawing the public's attention to their skills in "secret watchings, ascertaining what people do, where they go, the company they keep". It's clear that these 'lady detectives' were valuable resources in divorce suits, and although surviving divorce petitions usually omit details such as the involvement of private detectives, newspapers contain several examples of female detectives giving evidence in the divorce court about their work.

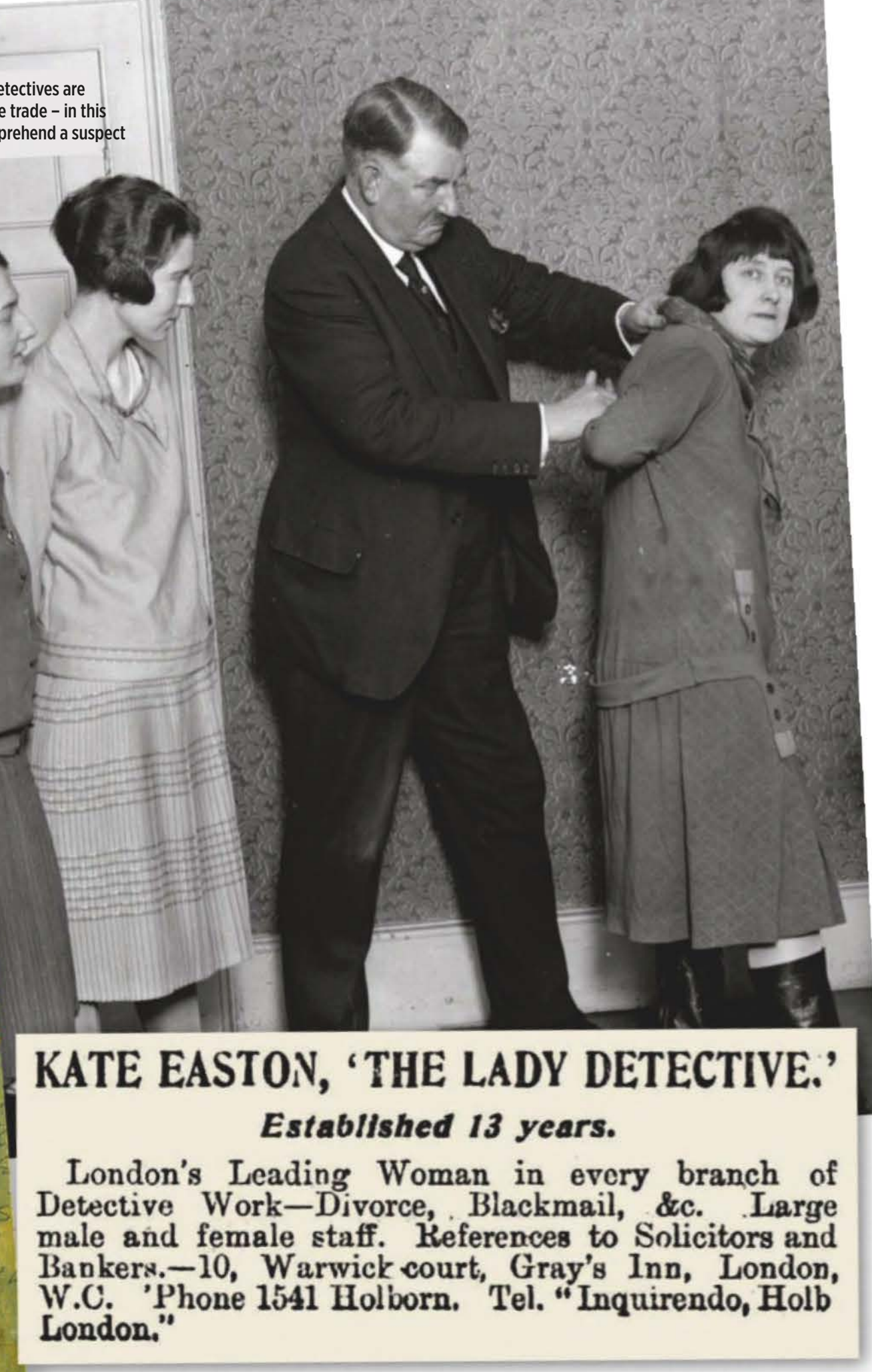
One of the first cases dealt with by private detective Kate Easton was in 1903, when she gave evidence in the divorce of Sir Robert McConnell and his young wife Elsie. Sir Robert, a former Lord Mayor of Belfast, had accused Elsie of an adulterous relationship that had resulted in the birth of an illegitimate child. To prove her adultery, he had employed a male detective named John Robinson, tasked with watching Elsie's flat in London, and also Easton, who was employed to watch a hotel in Brighton where Elsie was known to stay.

Easton was able to explain to the court that she had seen Elsie's alleged lover frequently visiting the hotel and calling

These trainee detectives are being taught the trade – in this case, how to apprehend a suspect



ABOVE: **Published in 1864, *Revelations of a Lady Detective* was only the second novel to feature a female sleuth – pipped by *The Lady Detective* just a few months earlier**



KATE EASTON, 'THE LADY DETECTIVE.'

Established 13 years.

London's Leading Woman in every branch of Detective Work—Divorce, Blackmail, &c. Large male and female staff. References to Solicitors and Bankers.—10, Warwick court, Gray's Inn, London, W.C. 'Phone 1541 Holborn. Tel. "Inquirendo, Holb London."

ABOVE RIGHT: **Real-life Sherlock Kate Easton's newspaper ad leaves you in no doubt as to how she viewed herself and her skills**

> "Women were supposed to be domestic, less brainy than men, yet here they were setting up their own businesses"

Elsie by her first name – the latter being a social no-no at the time, as it suggested a familiarity between the two that should not have existed.

CLUES IN THE PAPER TRAIL

Newspaper advertisements for the services of female detectives, and press stories of the time, also give a good insight into the work of these women, and how they saw and sold themselves. But in 1899, one press article stated that its interviewer had, at long last, "drawn aside the veil of mystery which has hitherto shrouded her existence", revealing that some lady detectives had learned their skills in childhood, pondering domestic mysteries such as the disappearance of food from the family larder.

Such patronising reports highlighted the confusion amongst men as to the success of women in this field: women were supposed to be domestic, less brainy than men, with overuse of their intellectual faculties seen as damaging them or leading to hysteria. ▶

THE UNUSUAL WORK OF THE FEMALE DETECTIVE

A female detective's job was a varied one, often involving stints undercover – and bringing risks to both body and reputation

ACCUSED OF THEFT

A 26-year-old Londoner, Ellen Lyons was employed by a male detective. In 1892, she was asked to shadow Mrs Gertrude Barrett, the wife of a member of the Indian Civil Service, as part of the husband's divorce case. Ellen duly befriended Gertrude, but when Gertrude found out her 'deception', she took Ellen to court, accusing her of stealing money and clothes from her.

NURSING A SECRET

▶ In the 1870s, an anonymous female detective undertook work for Scotland Yard, posing as a nurse, in order to work for families who were suspected of misdeeds. Her role could only be undertaken when the suspect was ill, at which point she would become their nurse, and then "extracted" confessions of crimes from her "half-unconscious and debilitated fever patients". She once also received a fractured skull from thieves whose den she had uncovered.

THE ART OF PERSUASION

▼ Clara Layt was employed by Scotsman William Hamilton Brown to investigate his household in 1897. He thought someone was persuading his servants to leave his service and so Clara, who worked for a London detective agency, was brought in to investigate. It was said that she persuaded a local letter carrier, a gardener, a kitchen maid and a sewing maid to give her vital information.

A nurse takes the temperature of her Victorian patient – but is she really a nurse?

Life below stairs could be a hotbed of rumour and gossip – the trick was separating the facts from fiction. In some cases that called for a lady detective, acting undercover of course

GETTY IMAGES X3, ALAMY X1, BRITISH LIBRARY X1

DETECTIVES OF THE GOLDEN AGE

There were many female detectives operating during the profession's golden age; here are three of this disparate group

ROSALIE THOMPSON (1868-1940)

As a suburban industrialist's wife, Thompson didn't need to work. But when she was widowed at the age of 39 and was left to look after her three children, she discovered a new career as a private detective. She appears to have given up this line of work after falling in love again and moving to South Africa with a new husband, Leo Kennedy.

KATE EASTON (1856-1931)

Kate Augusta Mead Easton was a tobacconist's daughter who spent her early career as a singer and actress. Many detectives came from acting backgrounds – being adept at adopting new personas – and Easton was no exception. She was also a supporter of women's suffrage, taking part in the boycott of the 1911 census.

DOROTHY TEMPEST (c1873-1928)

Originally from Dublin, Dorothy Tempest was an actress and spiritualist. In 1904, she was a key witness in an infamous case brought against two fake spiritualists, Professor and Madame Keiro. In order to make a regular living, Dorothy flitted between her various jobs in acting, palmistry and detection, and in 1918 was mentioned as a process server [someone who gives notice of legal action] – a job commonly taken on by private investigators today.

Lady detective Dorothy Tempest (*top left*) was a key witness in the trial of the charlatan-spiritualists Professor and Madame Keiro (*bottom*)

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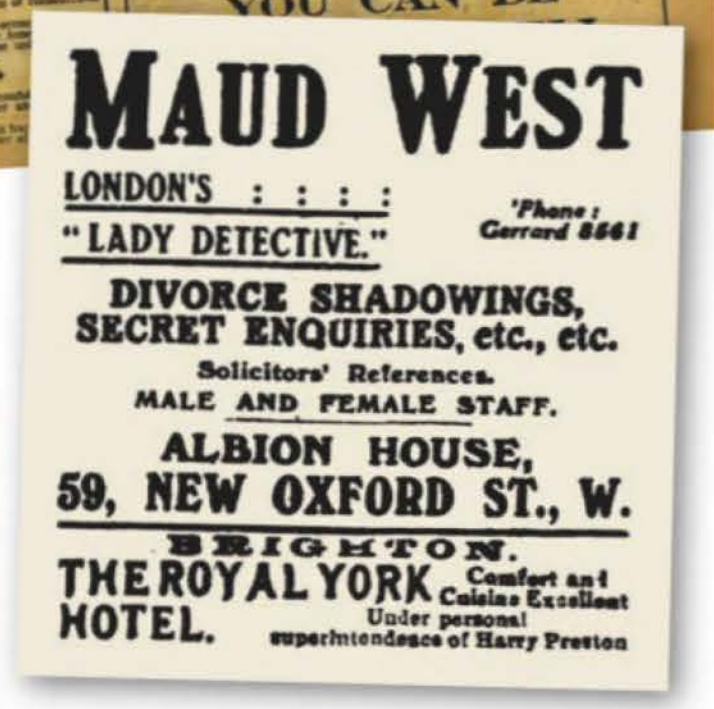


ABOVE: **Maud West ensured that she got publicity not just through advertising, but also by colluding with press and selling stories to them**

RIGHT: **A typical classified ad for Maud West's detective agency**

Yet here were women setting up their own businesses, employing staff, and taking on work perceived to be dangerous and both physically and mentally demanding. Vitally, though, the 1899 article made clear how enjoyable women found this occupation, with one particular interviewee's comments that she wouldn't recommend her career to most others sounding as though she was keen to keep it to herself.

The classified ads placed by female detectives themselves also demonstrate how they had to compete against each other, sometimes working in close proximity, their adverts jostling next to each other for readers' attention.

Easton was one of the best known female detectives of the early century, as was Maud West. Both were South Londoners from humble backgrounds, and they operated from offices near to each other in Central London. Their adverts boasted of successes in divorce cases and blackmail suits, staff both in England and overseas, and a team of male and female detectives. In 1909, Maud West stressed that her team of detectives were "intelligent" and that she dealt with "confidential inquiries and delicate matters – undertaken anywhere with secrecy and ability". She advertised that she had "unique facilities for tracing missing persons", and frequently gave interviews to the press, or sold stories to them, highlighting her own ability for disguise, particularly her skill at disguising herself as a man.

Maud West has been described as a real-life Miss Marple, though here she wields a Sherlockian staple, the magnifying glass

> "Most female detectives did not emphasise their femininity, even though they advertised themselves as 'lady detectives'"

Easton was similarly skilled at disguise, appropriate for a woman who, until the death of her mother when she was in her twenties, had been a professional performer an actress and singer on the London and provincial stage. She was skilled at adopting different personae, and changing her voice, appearance and mannerisms in order to pretend to be different characters.

The women were perhaps the two most successful female detectives of their era, but fought for supremacy: Easton stressed that she was "THE lady detective, London's leading woman in every branch of detective work", whereas West called herself "the lady detective EXPERT", trusted by nobility and gentry. Easton highlighted her "efficiency by dint of arduous and dangerous work", thus making clear the fact that she was doing tasks that were traditionally seen as more masculine. West, meanwhile, stressed her more 'feminine' skills, with one of her adverts "Are you worried? If so, consult me!" suggesting a woman who could offer a confidential ear and gentle advice.

Easton and West both made long term careers of detection, but others only operated for a few months or perhaps a couple of years if they were lucky. That was due to a variety of factors, from competition to skills.

THE GENDER GAP

Most female detectives did not emphasise their femininity. Although they might advertise themselves as 'lady detectives', knowing their relative rarity made them stand out in a crowded marketplace, they tended to list similar skills to their male equivalents: experience, secrecy, ability, language skills and contacts. This was a career where women felt they were competing on the same level as men.

Male detectives, particularly those who ran their own agencies, recognised the appeal of female detectives (and their comparative newsworthiness) and advertised their own employment of women. When they felt that lady detectives were perhaps becoming too ordinary and too accepted to be newsworthy, they then marketed other, perhaps more modern or unusual skills at their disposal. Henry Slater, one of London's best known private detectives, placed adverts in *The Lady Cyclist* periodical in 1896, highlighting his use of 'cyclist detectives', who appear to have been women employed by him to shadow individuals by bicycle.

The popularity of cycling in the Victorian era meant that enterprising detectives could perform surveillance on two wheels, as well as on foot

Such publicity tactics appear to have been short lived unlike the existence of female private detectives who still ply their trade across Britain today, with some still advertising their services by drawing attention to their gender, suggesting that they are a rarity. Yet for nearly 150 years, the female detective has operated in the shadows, observing, and recording: not such a rarity as we might imagine.

NELL DARBY is a crime historian, author, and an honorary research associate and associate lecturer at Oxford Brookes University. Her upcoming book on the history of female private detectives will be published in January 2021

WHAT IF...

NAPOLEON HAD WON AT WATERLOO?

Jonny Wilkes talks to **Professor Alan Forrest** about whether Napoleon could have secured his remarkable return to power at Waterloo – or if victory would only have delayed the inevitable

The Battle of Waterloo was over. A bloody battle. A dirty battle. A shifting battle, where both sides gained and lost momentum and the result could have gone either way. By the end of the day on 18 June 1815, thousands of men lay dead, and when the smoke cleared, it was Napoleon Bonaparte looking out across the battlefield as victor. His army had defeated the Duke of Wellington's British-led forces on one side and Field Marshal von Blücher's Prussians on the other, dealing the allies of the Seventh Coalition a severe blow...

From his abdication and exile a year earlier, Napoleon's return to power in France had a winning start. Yet the war was far from over and he would have to decide where to head next.

"If Napoleon had got rid of the British and Prussian armies at Waterloo, he might have marched on to Brussels," says Professor Alan Forrest, historian of revolutionary and Napoleonic France. "That was where the road was most obviously leading."

Had he returned to France to secure his domestic position and take a more defensive approach, Napoleon may have delayed the next battle. Decades of revolution, the Terror, and the rise and fall of his empire had left the country bitterly divided, though, and he could not rely on the citizenry for support, many of whom remained loyal to the republic or the monarchy. "In order to be a leader at all, Napoleon had to be a war leader," says Forrest. "He was dependent on the army."

That left Napoleon with major shortcomings both before and after Waterloo. As emperor of France up until 1814, he had been able to draw on the resources of Europe to build and sustain his army. Since returning from exile on Elba, he only had France. While many soldiers remained fiercely loyal to him, not everyone rushed to rally to the returned emperor. Napoleon had limited resources and his army suffered, notably in the quality of its commanders. "Michel Ney, in particular, was a brave man, but headstrong and liable to fling his troops into action without due consideration," says Forrest.

The allied nations, meanwhile, were united against Napoleon. As he had launched a military campaign virtually right away, he only cemented beliefs among the likes of Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia that he posed a danger to the security and peace of Europe. There was no way they could tolerate his return. What's more, the desire for revenge would have been strong – the other powers held Napoleon responsible for wars dragging on and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people.

DID YOU KNOW?

SELF-MADE EMPEROR

Napoleon held a lavish coronation at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris when he made himself emperor in 1804. When the pope presented him with the crown, Napoleon placed it on his own head as a demonstration of how he had reached his position on his own merit.

IN CONTEXT

Napoleon Bonaparte rose from a soldier in revolutionary France to commander of campaigns in Italy and Egypt, seizing power in a coup in 1799 and becoming the country's leader at the age of 30. In 1804, he declared himself emperor. A military mastermind, Napoleon seemed close to invincible on the battlefield until his disastrous Russian campaign in 1812, from which he never recovered. Forced to abdicate in 1814, Napoleon was exiled to the Mediterranean island of Elba.

In 1815, he staged a remarkable comeback, returning to France and taking power once more. A coalition of European powers – led by Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain – formed against him as he prepared to go on campaign. His brief second rule, The Hundred Days, ended with defeat at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. Napoleon was forced into exile again, this time on the remote Atlantic island of St Helena.

Napoleon, painted leading the French to victory against the Austrians at Arcole in 1796

GETTY IMAGES X3

BUT WHAT IF HE HAD WON?

Even following a victory at Waterloo, Napoleon could not have been as offensive as he once had. "Whereas previously he had been an emperor, in 1815 he wasn't," says Forrest. "He was an outlaw, with no legal status and, from that position, he had plunged Europe back into war." The overwhelmingly larger forces commanded by the allies and the diplomatic determination of their leaders not to let Napoleon establish power once more, meant they were not going to make concessions. "The war would go on until Napoleon was

Napoleon watches on as the fighting at Waterloo unfolds: in real history, the clash would leave his army routed

defeated," says Forrest.

The beaten Duke of Wellington probably would have played no further part in the ongoing fight against Napoleon. Instead of acting as a diplomatic representative of the allies – in Paris and at the Congress of Vienna – the mastermind of the Peninsular Campaign may have returned to Britain with his reputation tarnished. A promising political career that could have led all the way to him being prime minister would suffer without the upsurge of patriotic enthusiasm that followed a victory at Waterloo.

The prestige of Britain rested on the outcome of that battle, too. Defeat may have meant Britain was not taken as seriously as a military power on land in Europe – although, it would have remained the supreme naval power – and may have reduced its influence at future talks. "The four major allied powers had demobilised large parts of their army in 1814. Britain did this quite quickly," says Forrest. "The country did not have a standing army in peacetime, was far more interested in the navy, and would have found it difficult to raise a large force again. Waterloo was Britain's last fling."

Wellington was memorialised on all sorts of objects – including this urn. Had Napoleon won, however, could the Duke have become Britain's prime minister?

"THE BEATEN DUKE OF WELLINGTON PROBABLY WOULD HAVE PLAYED NO FURTHER PART IN THE FIGHT AGAINST NAPOLEON"

Even with Britain's role diminished, Napoleon would have had no possibility of long term success. While two armies may have been defeated at Waterloo, 150,000 Austrians and a larger force of Russians were, as Forrest puts it, "waiting their turn". Napoleon would have faced battle after battle, with the other powers of the Seventh Coalition keeping on coming and closing in until he eventually lost. The peace may have taken a different form if Waterloo had gone differently, but Napoleon was always going to be on the losing side.

Napoleon's fate would have depended on who eventually captured him, and if in 1815 he chose to surrender to Britain, it would have been because he believed that he would receive more lenient treatment. He would have had no reason to think that Prussia, Russia or Austria where his wife and son were living at the imperial court would treat him benignly. The worst outcome, however, would have been to surrender to the French themselves. "The monarchists wanted Napoleon's blood. He was a usurper, a traitor to his king many called for the death penalty." Instead of seeing out his days in exile on a remote island, Napoleon could have faced a firing squad.

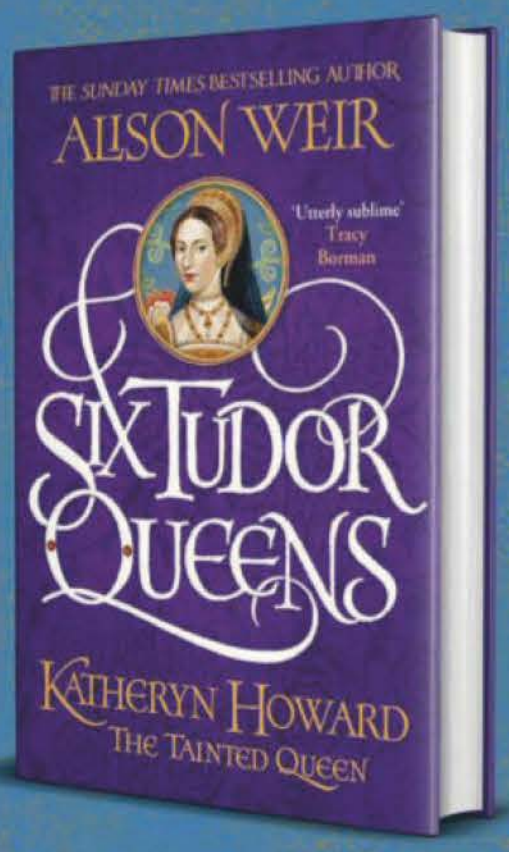
READ

Napoleon: Life, Legacy, and Image: A Biography by Alan Forrest

NEXT MONTH

What if... the Romanovs had survived in 1918?

ONE OF THE MOST TRAGIC TALES IN ENGLISH HISTORY



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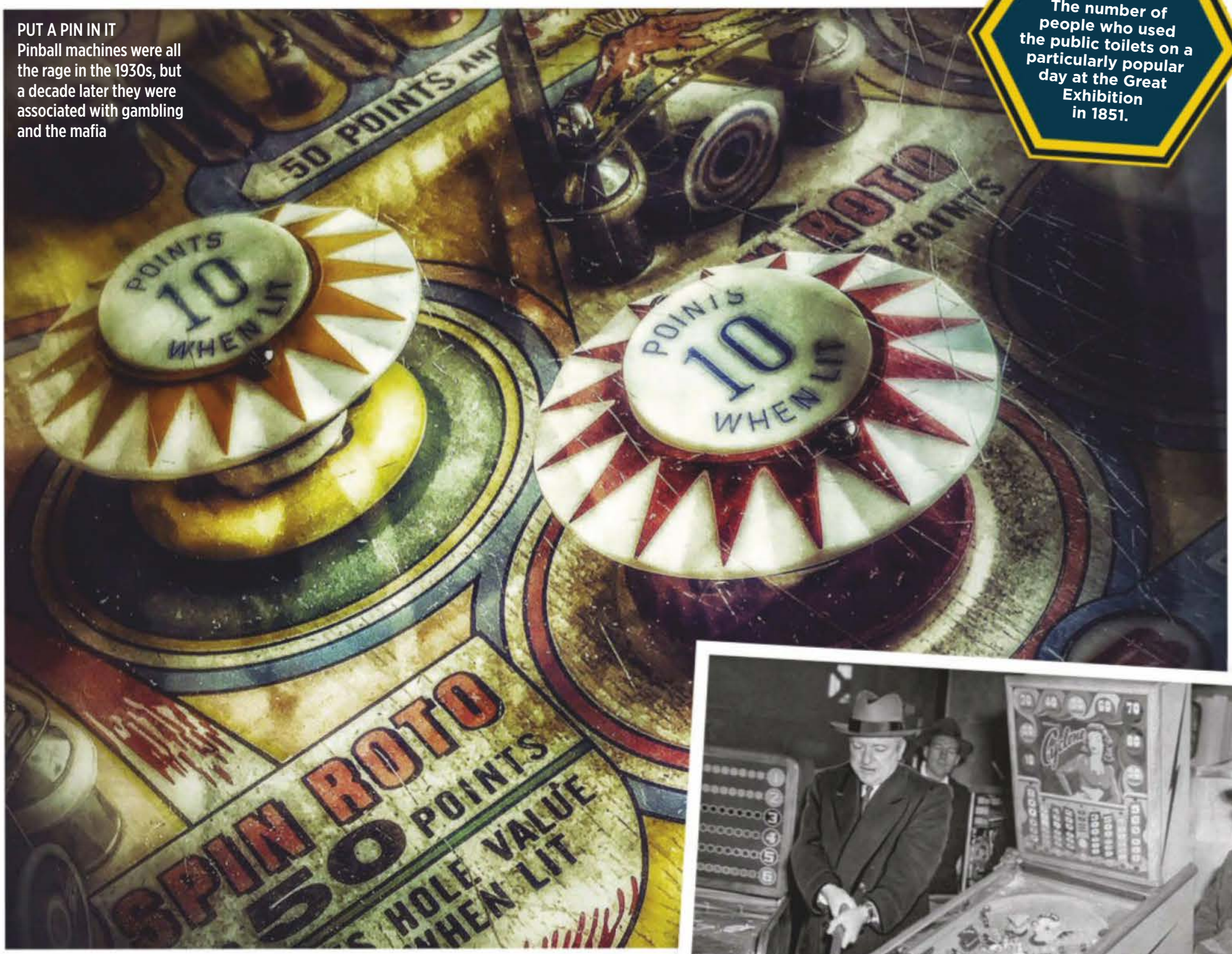
The number of people who used the public toilets on a particularly popular day at the Great Exhibition in 1851.



PUT A PIN IN IT
Pinball machines were all the rage in the 1930s, but a decade later they were associated with gambling and the mafia

Who invented the pinball machine?

SHORT ANSWER Pioneering pinball wizard Montague Redgrave used an older game as inspiration

HE'S ONE BAD LOSER
New York City Police Commissioner William P O'Brien smashes pinball machines in a raid

LONG ANSWER A drug store and tavern favourite in 1930s America, and a banned symbol of rebellion from the 1940s (more on that later), the coin-operated arcade game seems a quintessential relic of the 20th century. Yet the pinball pioneer worked his magic a few decades earlier. In 1871, US-based British inventor Montague Redgrave took out a patent for his game, "Improvement in Bagatelle Game", which was an 18th-century French pastime reminiscent of pool or billiards.

Redgrave's smaller game had a coiled spring and plunger, an inclined playing surface, and marbles. Sounds a lot like pinball. Still, the pinball phenomenon had to wait until the 1930s when competing versions – Baffle Ball, created by David Gottlieb, and Bally Hoo, by Raymond Maloney – hit the market and appealed as cheap entertainment in Depression-hit US.

Pinball kept developing, but by the time the game-changing flipper was added in 1947, the machines had been banned in major cities. They were seen as promoting gambling as prizes or extra turns could be won and perhaps even a front for the mafia. New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia even ordered publicity raids where machines were smashed with sledgehammers and dumped in rivers. The pinball prohibition lasted until the 1970s, by which time it had become a symbol of underground rebellion.

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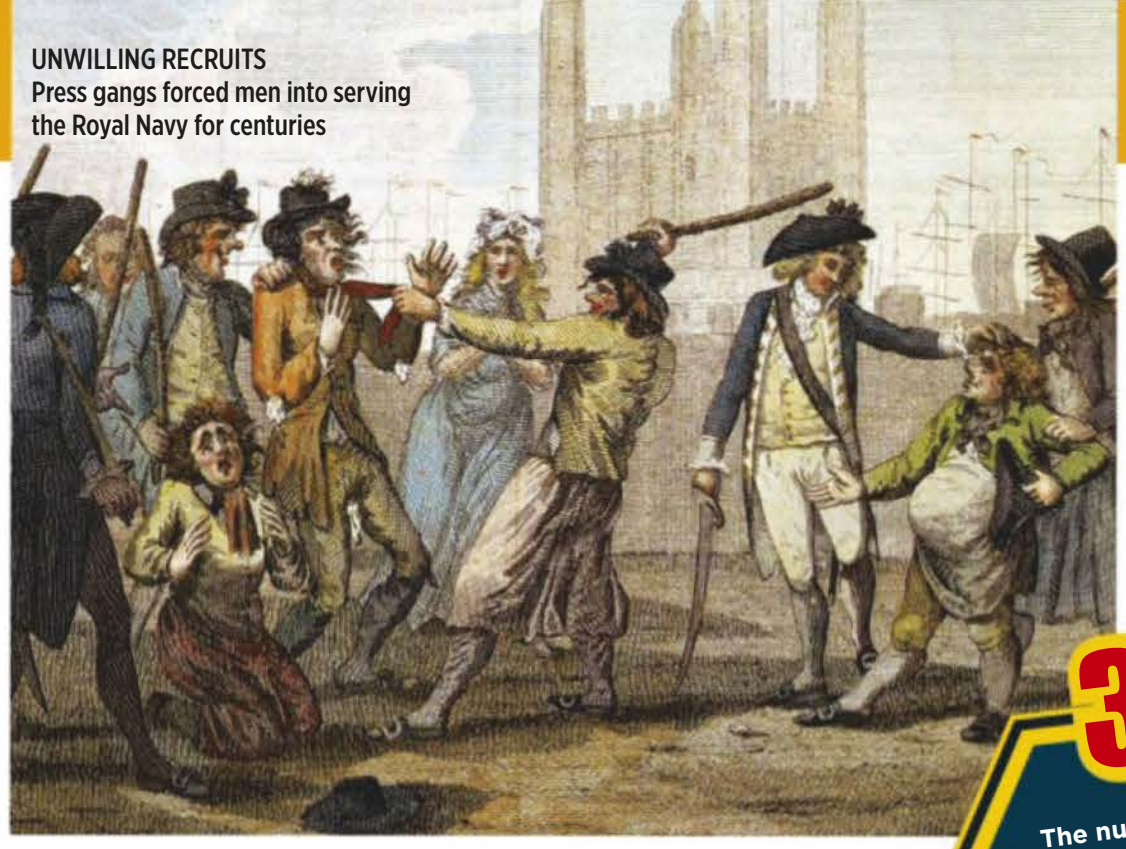


UNWILLING RECRUITS
Press gangs forced men into serving the Royal Navy for centuries

When did the Royal Navy stop the press gang?

SHORT ANSWER Only after Napoleon was defeated did the British stop relying on snatching men into naval service

LONG ANSWER The practice of naval impressment – forcing men into the service of the navy with or without any notice – continued with parliamentary support throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, as it kept Britain's ships crewed as it established supremacy over the seas. Press gangs would use any means, mostly physical force, to snatch men from the streets or workplaces of Britain's seaside towns. There were tales of men being plied with alcohol until they passed out, who then woke up aboard navy ships.

Press gangs were most effective at sea, where they boarded merchant vessels and forced the crews into service. It was a much-loathed practice – the impressment of thousands of men from the American colonies formed the basis of one of the 27 grievances against the British government in the Declaration of Independence – but did not end until after the Napoleonic Wars. Actually, it was still legal well into the 19th century, just not practised.

3

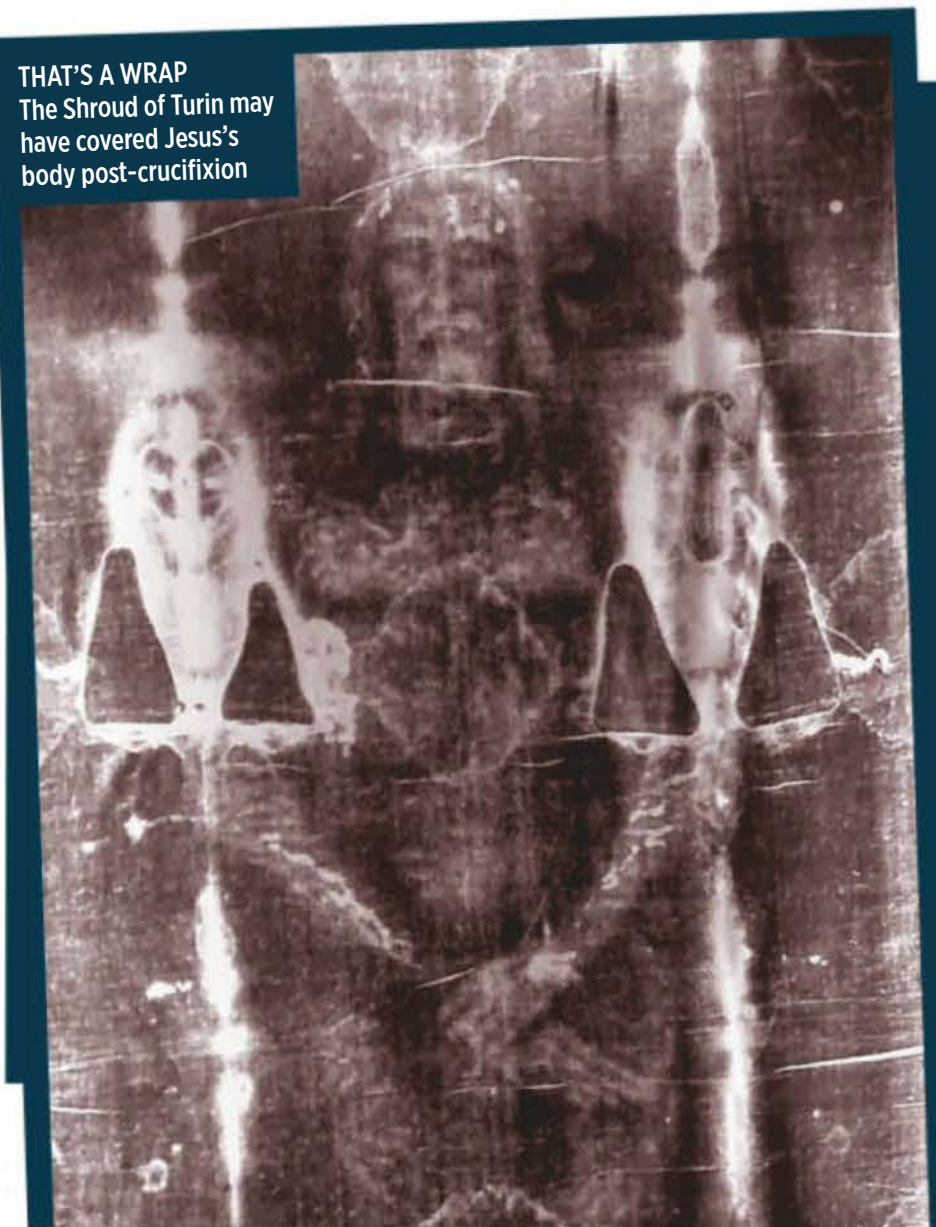
The number of paintings that Adolf Hitler claimed to have completed a day in his autobiography, *Mein Kampf*.

What battles did the *Mary Rose* fight in?

SHORT ANSWER The most famous Tudor warship had a long career, although not an overly busy one

LONG ANSWER Before its sinking and subsequent 437 years at the bottom of the Solent, the *Mary Rose* was a state-of-the-art warship. Though not the largest vessel in Henry VIII's navy, it carried heavy guns and was chosen as the king's flagship to fight the French after being built in 1509-11. The *Mary Rose* first saw action in 1512 at the victorious Battle of Saint Mathieu, in which it fired the opening shots. The craft was then used to transport troops to fight the Scots at the Battle of Flodden the following year, and the French – again – in 1522. Much of its career, however, was spent being refitted and repaired. When the ship was finally back in action in 1545, it sank – probably after water flooded its starboard gunports, causing it to flood within minutes, all while Henry looked on.

YOU SUNK MY BATTLESHIP!
The *Mary Rose* sank in 1545, and the wreck is now housed in Portsmouth



THAT'S A WRAP
The Shroud of Turin may have covered Jesus's body post-crucifixion

When was the Shroud of Turin discovered?

SHORT ANSWER The story begins not in first-century Jerusalem or the Italian city of Turin, but in medieval France

LONG ANSWER Measuring 4.3 by 1.1 metres, the fragile length of linen remains a source of scientific debate and religious devotion. The Shroud of Turin, said to have wrapped the body of Christ after his crucifixion, has imprints of a face and body, as well as bloodstains claimed by some to be consistent with the wounds Christ suffered, including whipping marks on the back.

Since 1578, it has been kept in the cathedral of San Giovanni Battista in Turin, Italy, but it first appeared in historical record in the 1350s, in the possession of a French knight called Geoffroi de Charnay. The whereabouts – and existence – of the shroud in the preceding 1,300 years is a matter of speculation. Many scientific studies have questioned its authenticity, but the debate continues. The Catholic Church has never given a firm opinion, but the shroud remains a devotional symbol, with Pope John Paul II calling it a "mirror of the Gospel".

ALAMY X1, GETTY IMAGES X4, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/CUTROFIANO X1

HIT THE ROCKS
Children and other parishioners in Oxford wield strips of willow

What is meant by 'Beating the Bounds'?

SHORT ANSWER Nothing to see here – just people walking through a town hitting stones with long willow sticks

LONG ANSWER This is one of the more endearingly odd customs in Britain (and also parts of New England, US) a charming anachronism with roots in Saxon times still performed every year on or around Ascension Day. A church priest and some of the congregation walk to the stones marking the boundary of the parish. Each person carries a six foot willow branch which they use to strike the stones as they yell: "Mark, mark, mark!"

Historically, the parish was the keeper of local taxation and welfare benefits, so it was important for everyone to know which parish they lived in. Before things like maps, Beating the Bounds was an annual refresher course in the parish boundaries, as well as a way of sending a gentle message to neighbours not to encroach on their territory.

In Oxford, a place overflowing with eccentric traditions, Beating the Bounds for the parish of St Michael at the Northgate goes back to 1428, and it involves a trip to boundary markers now perched in some incongruously modern settings. There's markers in a bike shed, the walls of restaurants, and even in the middle of the women's section of a Marks and Spencer, giving new meaning when they shout: "Mark, mark, mark!"

DID YOU KNOW?

NOT SO LIKE-LIKED

The Hawaiian princess Likelike died on 2 February 1887 at the age of 36 of unknown causes, although she had been unwell in the months before. Rumours spread that her enemies prayed her to death.

PARIS PENTHOUSE

The French engineer Gustave Eiffel made a secret addition to his Eiffel Tower: a private apartment at the very top where he could entertain guests. Parisians offered him huge sums to let them rent it, but he always refused.

DIRTY DANCING

In a manual from 1530 instructing men how to dance to impress ladies, the author Antonius Arena recommends: "Never fart when you are dancing; grit your teeth and compel your arse to hold back the fart."

RISKY BUS-INESS

In late 1952, a number 78 London double decker bus accidentally got caught on Tower Bridge after the arms had started to raise. The driver, Albert Gunter, slammed on the accelerator and successfully jumped the bus from one side to the other.

MODELL SPECIMEN
The original knife carried by Swiss troops was manufactured abroad

What makes the army knife Swiss?

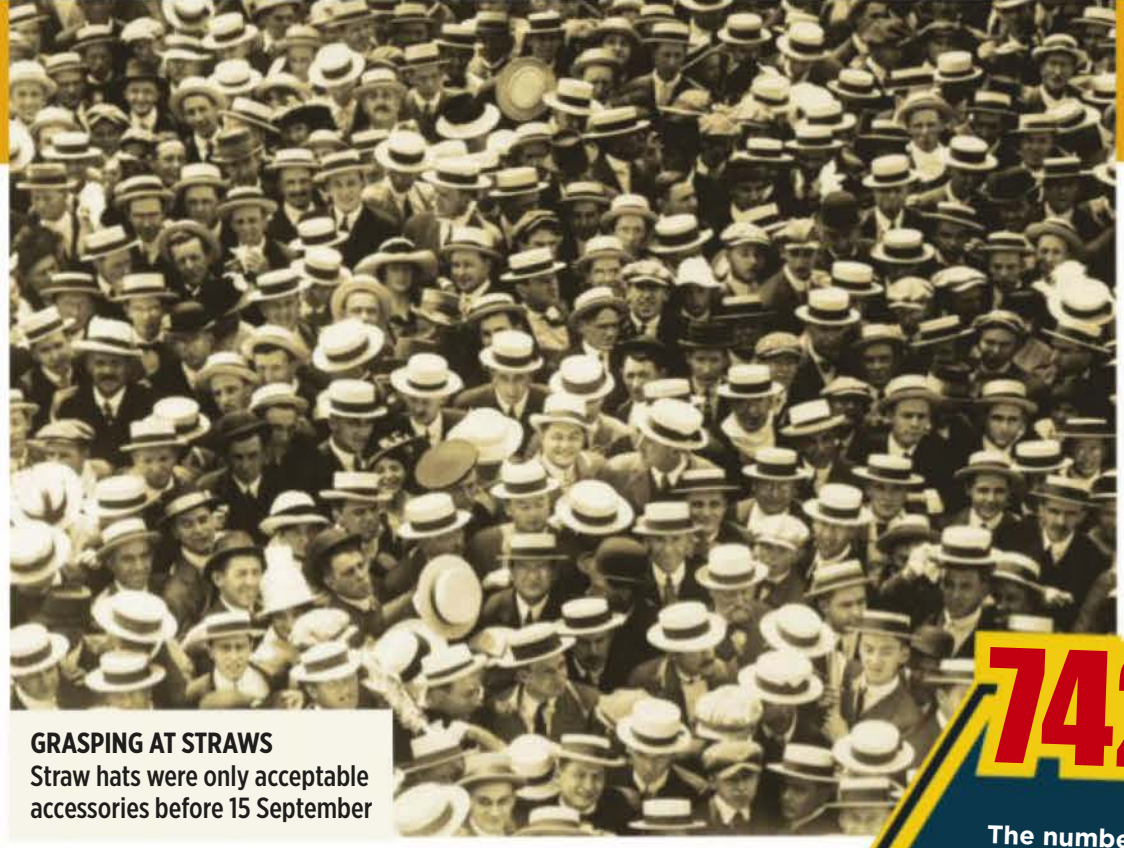
SHORT ANSWER Originally, nothing – the Swiss couldn't make the knives themselves, so they turned elsewhere

LONG ANSWER This should be an easy answer, seeing as the knife was made for soldiers in the Swiss Army, but there is a slight hiccup. When the army asked for 15,000 multi-purpose folding penknives in the late 1880s so that Swiss troops could open food rations and disassemble their rifles, no manufacturer in Switzerland could handle such a large order. They had to be made in the German town of Solignen, the so-called 'city of blades'. The original Modell 1890 had a single blade, a reamer, can opener and screwdriver. It wasn't long before Swiss cutler and surgical instrument maker, Karl Elsener, wanted to bring the business home, and his company – now known as Victorinox – still produces the Swiss Army Knife today.

Why do we say 'Redneck'?

SHORT ANSWER Sunburn afflicted poor farmers, literally turning their necks red

LONG ANSWER The word 'Redneck' usually invokes an image of poor, white, uneducated, rural Americans, most often in the South and Appalachia, who are labelled as gun-toting reactionaries. It's long been a pejorative term, but also one proudly reclaimed as a form of identity. The phrase harkens back to the time when workers spent long days out in the fields bent over crops, literally turning their necks red with sunburn. It took on political significance in the early 20th century, when farmers wore red neckerchiefs and West Virginia coal miners wore bandanas to show their solidarity.



GRASPING AT STRAWS
Straw hats were only acceptable accessories before 15 September

What was the Straw Hat Riot?

SHORT ANSWER In 1922, New York teenagers took the rules of fashion way too seriously

LONG ANSWER For a time in the 19th and 20th centuries, it was a social faux pas to wear straw hats – a solely summer headgear – too late in the year. The arbitrary date of 15 September was the cut off, when anyone still sporting a boater risked ridicule and their hat being stomped on.

This overly fashion conscious tradition was widespread, but on 13 September 1922, a group of New York teens couldn't wait to get going. Things turned ugly when they picked on dock workers who didn't like the idea of their still-acceptable headgear being targeted.

Brawls broke out, which escalated into days of rioting, violence and several hospitalisations. And those stick-wielding, hat hating teens who were caught faced a humiliating punishment, according to *The New York Tribune*: "A dozen or more were arrested, and seven were spanked ignominiously by their parents in the East 104th Street police station by the order of the lieutenant at his desk."

742

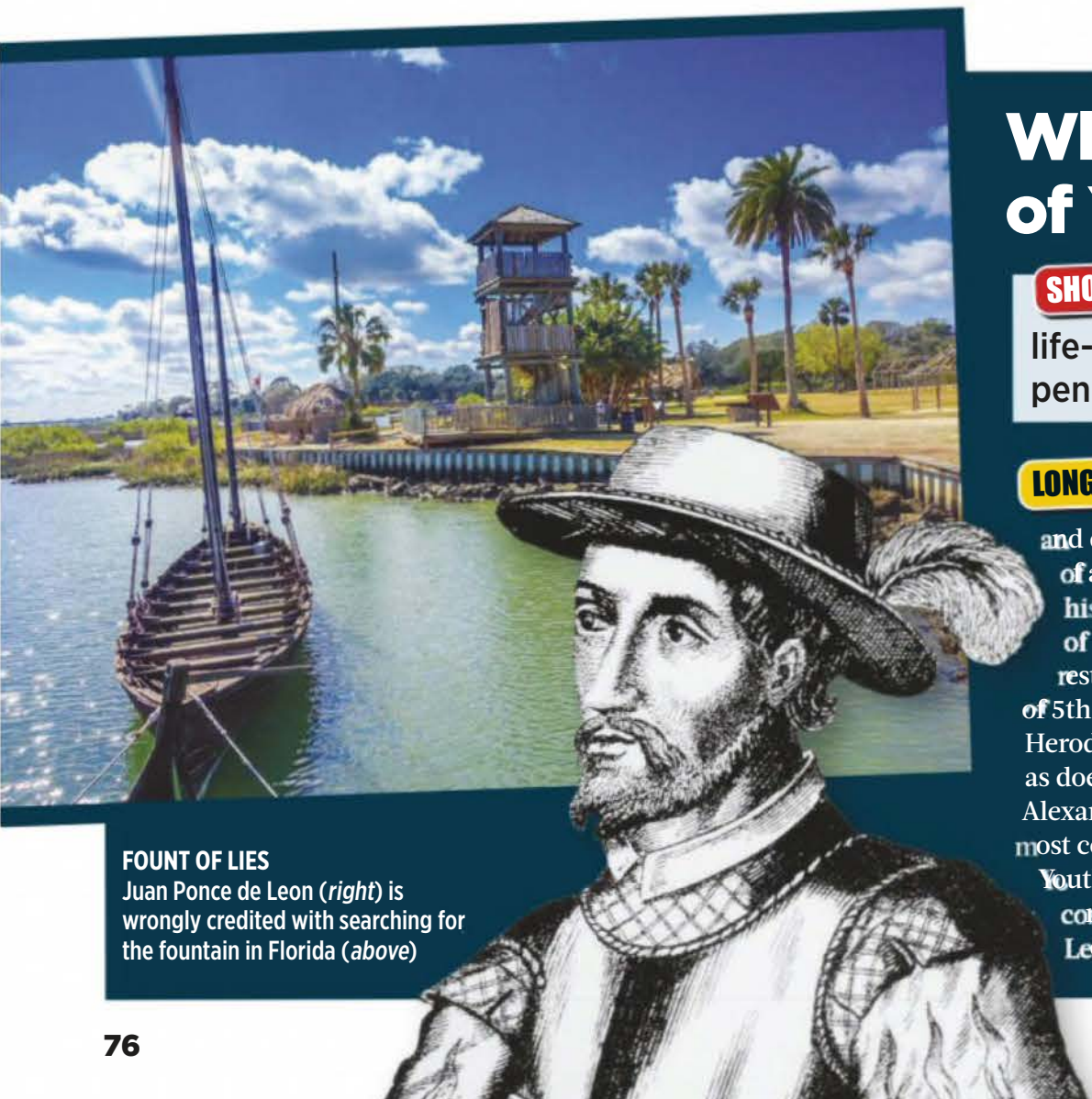
The number of years, and counting, since 1278 that Andorra's borders have gone unchanged.

Was Anne of Cleves actually ugly?

SHORT ANSWER While Henry VIII famously shouted "I like her not!", there's nothing to suggest Anne offended everyone's eyes

LONG ANSWER Although Henry VIII is said to have been so revolted by his fourth bride to be's appearance that he tried to wriggle his way out of the marriage as soon as he clapped eyes on her, this disgust seems more down to personal taste than actual unattractiveness. She did have some physical flaws her skin was blemished with smallpox scars but even Henry admitted she was "well and seemelye". And the king himself was hardly a looker at that time: his waist had ballooned to almost 52 inches.

A SIGHT FOR SORE EYES?
Henry VIII was not impressed when he first beheld Anne of Cleves



FOUNT OF LIES
Juan Ponce de Leon (*right*) is wrongly credited with searching for the fountain in Florida (*above*)

When did the Fountain of Youth myth begin?

SHORT ANSWER There have been countless tales of life-restoring waters, but the most famous was penned as a joke

LONG ANSWER Our species' fear of ageing and death, mixed with our love of a good treasure hunt, means history is replete with stories of a mythical McGuffin that restores youth. The writings of 5th-century BC historian Herodotus allude to the fountain, as does an account of the life of Alexander the Great. The name most connected to the Fountain of Youth, though, is Spanish conquistador Juan Ponce de Leon. As the first governor of Puerto Rico who led an expedition to Florida, he desperately plunged into unknown lands in search of the fountain. Or so the story goes.

There is no contemporary evidence, including his own letters, to back that up. His priorities were land, gold and glory. It was another Spaniard, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, who first linked Ponce de Leon with the futile quest to find the Fountain of Youth, and that was likely in an attempt to make him look gullible and foolish.

GETTY IMAGES X7, ALAMY X2

HOW BIG IS THE HAYSTACK? Cleopatra's Needle left Egypt (*above*) for its new home on London's Victoria Embankment (*right*)

What does Cleopatra's Needle have to do with Cleopatra?

SHORT ANSWER Not a thing – it was simply named after a famous Ancient Egyptian. Well, named after a ship named after a famous Ancient Egyptian...

LONG ANSWER There's something along Victoria Embankment that doesn't quite fit the London aesthetic: a 21 metre high Ancient Egyptian obelisk known as Cleopatra's Needle. Presented to the British in 1819 while another was gifted to Paris in 1833, neither actually have anything to do with the famous ruler. Carved in around 1450 BC, the obelisks had been around for nearly 1,400 years before Cleopatra came along.

The British government wouldn't pay for its transportation, so the obelisk stayed put in Egypt until 1877, when wealthy surgeon Sir William James Erasmus Wilson eventually got the needle moving. He paid to have a specially designed, cigar shaped ship made to carry the 224 tonne artefact, which could be hauled by another ship. The unique vessel was dubbed *Cleopatra*, hence the name. The voyage almost ended in disaster when it got caught in a storm leading to six sailors losing their lives but *Cleopatra* stayed afloat and finally entered the Thames to a rapturous welcome.

Who was Japan's first emperor?

SHORT ANSWER A divine descendent, Jimmu, although the historical record about him is more myth than truth

LONG ANSWER In 2019, Naruhito became the 126th emperor on the Chrysanthemum Throne of Japan following the abdication of his father. He is the latest in an unbroken imperial line that goes back to 660 BC, making Japan the oldest continuing hereditary monarchy in the world. It began with the mythological Jimmu, who ruled, according to traditional dates, for 75 years. Yet, all that is known about Jimmu is legend. The chronicles say he was born on the southernmost of Japan's four main islands and that he was a descendent of the sun goddess Amaterasu. He subdued tribes and took control of Japan as he moved east with his brothers.

LEGENDARY LEADER According to myth, Jimmu is Japan's first emperor

How did Australia get its name?

SHORT ANSWER The name refers to the European idea that they'd find a massive southern continent

LONG ANSWER Since antiquity, there were those in Europe, including great minds like Aristotle, Ptolemy and Cicero, who believed there had to be a colossal land mass in the southern hemisphere to balance out the north. Ptolemy called this hypothetical continent *Terra Australis Incognita*, or 'unknown southern land'. It was total guesswork, obviously, as it would be 1606 before a European set foot on what is now Australia.

The Dutch called it New Holland, and that's how it stayed until 1794, when botanist George Shaw called the land 'Australia' in his work. The English sailor Matthew Flinders popularised the name in the early 1800s. He claimed it was "more agreeable to the ear" and that the huge island was the best they were going to get in the search for *Terra Australis*. The British officially accepted the name change in 1824.

OZZIE RULES Captain Matthew Flinders popularised 'Australia'

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Crew members tread carefully along the slanting deck of the aircraft carrier USS *Yorktown* after bomb damage received during the battle of Midway, June 1942

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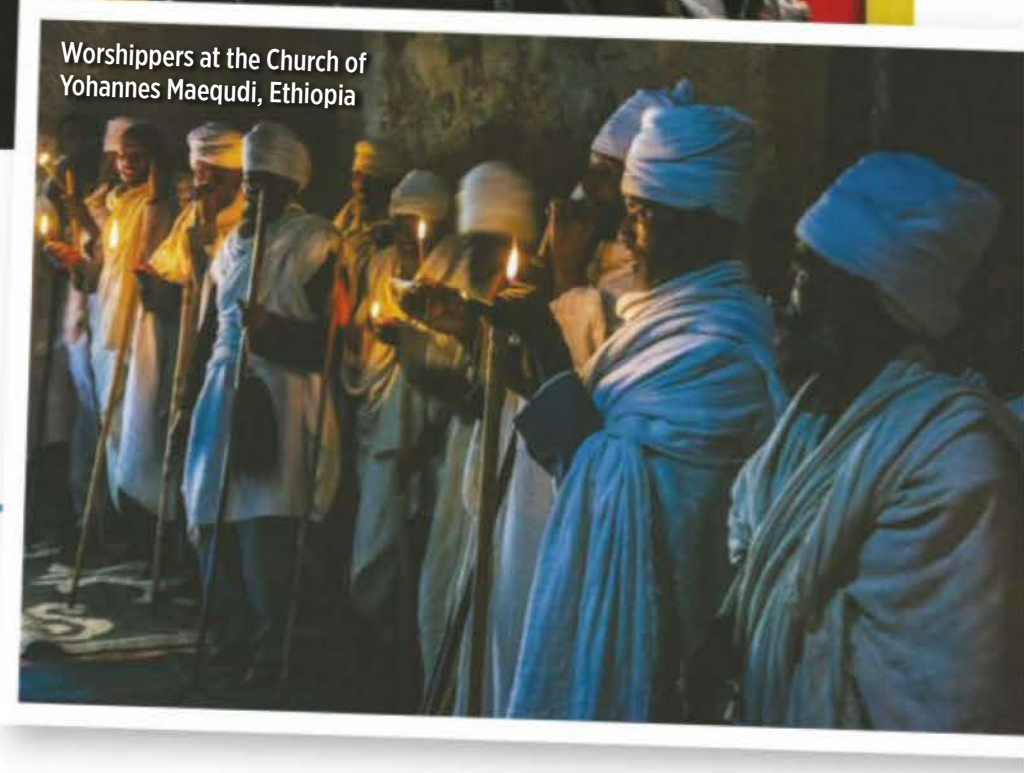
GETTY IMAGES

ONE TO WATCH

Broadcaster Afua Hirsch (centre) with Rastafarians Alex Renia and Iron gad Noel in Shashamene, Ethiopia



Worshippers at the Church of Yohannes Maequdi, Ethiopia

How a continent sees itself

African Renaissance / BBC Four, August

What would a televisual history focused on Africa look like if it put the perspectives of Africans themselves front and centre rather than, as so often, seeing the continent through the prism of European colonialism? It's a question answered by broadcaster Afua Hirsch in a new series that looks at culture and art in three different nations: Senegal, Ethiopia and Kenya.

One of Hirsch's starting points, laid out in her introduction to the documentaries, is that Africa is so culturally diverse that it's home to 3,000 ethnicities and 2,000 languages. To look at that another way, it's a continent so filled with stories it would be impossible for viewers to have heard all of them.

And many of these are fantastic stories. In never-formally-colonised Ethiopia, for instance, Hirsch looks at a Christian tradition that extends back far further than that of the British Isles. In a shrine in the city of Aksum, it's said, resides the Ark of the Covenant.

Hirsch also tells the extraordinary story of Ethiopia's last emperor, Haile Selassie (1892–1975), a totalitarian ruler who was, paradoxically, also a beacon of African liberation – and is venerated by followers of Rastafarianism as a messianic figure. As for the famine of the early 1980s, it's a story told in the context of the brutal Leninist Derg regime that ruled the country after Selassie's overthrow rather than in terms of the benefit music concert Live Aid.

Elsewhere in the series, the show on Senegal explores how the country's French and Islamic influences pull in different directions, while the show on Kenya considers how the country came to be an African tech hub.

African Renaissance is part of an Africa season that also features a series on African crafts, *Handmade In Africa*, and a one-off documentary about African novels, *Africa Turn The Page – The Novels That Shaped A Continent*, presented by David Olusoga.

ALEX BRISLAND/CLEARSTORY X2

Tom Hanks is no stranger to World War II on screen; he also starred in *Saving Private Ryan* and produced TV dramas *Band of Brothers* and *The Pacific*

Far from shore

Greyhound, / Apple TV, streaming now

In order to win World War II, it was essential for the Allies to bring men, equipment and supplies across the Atlantic. This was a perilous journey, during which convoys faced being torpedoed by German U boats, especially in areas of the ocean out of the range of air cover.

It's one such crossing that lies at the centre of *Greyhound*, an old-fashioned war film for all it employs CGI to bring World War II to life. Tom Hanks, who also wrote the script – an adaptation of CS Forester's 1955 novel *The Good Shepherd* brings his everyman charm to the role of US naval commander Ernest Krause.

Krause is a sailor finally given charge of a destroyer (call sign 'Greyhound', hence the title) on active duty after a long career, but his first transatlantic adventure will prove to be gruelling.

That's because the convoy he's escorting comes under relentless attack by a wolf pack of German submarines, with the commander of one of the U-boats taunting those they're targeting. Krause is soon running on empty, his inexperience leads him to make questionable decisions and, in a claustrophobic film despite scenes showing the grandeur of the high seas, we see the concern etched on the faces of his crew, especially right-hand man Charlie Cole (Stephen Graham).

The tone throughout is respectful to those who served, even to the point of being austere, but there's also enough of an acknowledgement of the absurdities and horrors of war to prevent *Greyhound* being too reverential. Recommended.

In the monarch's orbit

Henry VIII And The King's Men / Smithsonian Channel, Monday 17 August

Boorish to the point of being monstrous, the Henry VIII of popular imagination is not an attractive figure. To get a more nuanced picture, suggests Tracy Borman, we need to pay attention to the chaps who surrounded him.

That's precisely what the joint chief curator for Historic Royal Palaces does in a new series based on her book *Henry VIII And The Men Who Made Him*. It's a series that doesn't linger too long on familiar figures such as Thomas Cromwell, but considers those who served the monarch in more junior roles fools, teachers and soldiers.

The man who emerges from this work is someone who, at least in his younger years, loved life, was sometimes naïve because of misplaced trust, and, most surprisingly considering the saga of his marriages, could be prudish.

Katherine Langford and Devon Terrell star in this Arthurian fantasy that puts women at the heart of the myth

APPLE TV X1, MATT GREEN/SMITHSONIAN X1, NETFLIX © 2020 X1, GETTY X1, BOUNDLESS, PART OF FREMANTLEMEDIA UK X1

American Odysseys

From The Mayflower To The Moon / Radio 4, weekdays from Monday 31 August

One of the recurring ideas in American history is the pioneering journey. In a country where so many of the inhabitants are descended from immigrants, including the Pilgrim Fathers who made their way to the New World 400 years ago, that's perhaps hardly surprising. But what do ten different journeys, each of which took place between the *Mayflower*'s voyage and the first Moon landing, *really* tell us about American history?

For one thing, suggests satirist Joe Queenan in an entertaining new series, these journeys often highlighted the way that newcomers from across the Atlantic liked to claim vast swathes of a continent that was, lest we forget, already inhabited. "People just showed up from Europe and stole land," he says.

There's a tension at the heart of the series. Queenan himself doesn't much like stay-at-home people as a rule and he admires the spirit that moved Frenchman René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, to canoe the lower Mississippi basin in 1682. Yet so often in American history, he contends, the aftermath of such journeys, such as Cavelier annexing 'Lousiana' in honour of King Louis XIV, an area that extended as far north as Canada, was problematical.

Other journeys featured in the series include Lewis and Clark's epic transcontinental expedition, which reached the Pacific in 1805; Danish cartographer Vitus Bering's exploration of the Bering Strait; and, closer to our own time, the construction of the interstate highway system financed by the US government pumping billions into the economy via the 1956 Federal Aid Highway Act.

Sacagawea, a woman of the Shoshone people, guides Lewis and Clark through the Rocky Mountains in a 20th-century depiction of the expedition

Mystic warrior

Cursed / Netflix, streaming now

The foundational myth of England is one where the men, Arthur and Merlin, usually get all the best lines. Not in this revisionist take on the years leading up to the foundation of Camelot, which stars the up and coming Australian actor Katherine Langford as Nimue, an essentially tragic figure who is destined to become the Lady of The Lake.

But not before she has been through some fantastical adventures, which begin in the wake of the death of her mother, when Nimue is charged with a quest: to take an ancient sword to Merlin. Her companion in this endeavour is a young mercenary by the name of Arthur (Devon Terrell). Their journey will make Nimue a symbol of courage and rebellion, much to the irritation of King Uther.

Created by comics writer Frank Miller (*Sin City*, *300)* and writer/producer Tom Wheeler (*Puss In Boots*), *Cursed* is great fun and proof once again that stories we can trace back at least to such venerable texts as the ninth century *Historia Brittonum* have real staying power.

Back on the tracks

Great Continental Railway Journeys / BBC Two & iPlayer, from 29 July

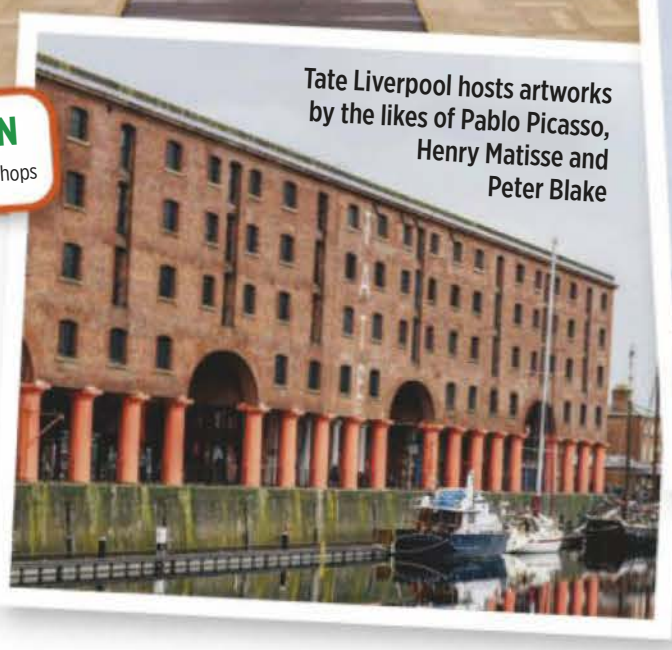
Clutching a 1936 copy of *Bradshaw's Continental Handbook*, Michael Portillo sets off on a journey through Spain. The first of seven journeys is especially personal for the ex politician, taking him to Spain, the land of his father, a republican who went into exile with General Franco's triumph in the country's bitter civil war. In Salamanca, where his father was a left wing teacher, Portillo visits the university and gains access to Franco's archive of enemies of the state.

EXPERIENCING HISTORY

With much of England gradually adapting to a 'new normal', museums and galleries are slowly beginning to reopen

MUST SEE

Tate Britain's galleries are full of spectacular art that takes visitors on a historical journey



Tate Liverpool hosts artworks by the likes of Pablo Picasso, Henry Matisse and Peter Blake

The exterior of Tate St Ives, whose 'Naum Gabo' exhibition is running until 27 September

WHAT'S OPEN
✔ Toilets ✔ Selected shops

The Tate Galleries

LONDON/LIVERPOOL/ST IVES

bit.ly/32C70v5

Art lovers in England can rejoice, as the Tate's four spaces Tate Britain and Tate Modern, both in London, Tate Liverpool and Tate St Ives will reopen from 27 July. The four galleries are bursting with art that spans a multitude of diverse themes and time periods, from black identity to migration.

Their beloved collection routes are open again, with Tate Liverpool's free displays featuring artwork by iconic artists Pablo Picasso, Henry Matisse and Peter Blake, the latter being esteemed for his pop art. Famously, he helped to create a record sleeve for The Beatles.

As well as the regular galleries, a number of special exhibitions are also open to visitors. Down in Cornwall, Tate St Ives is holding an exhibition titled 'Naum Gabo: Constructions for Real Life' until 27 September, allowing art aficionados to experience the work of the renowned constructivist artist.

Constructivism a type of abstract art where practitioners try to reflect modern industrial landscapes in their work gained great popularity in Russia, Gabo's homeland, in the early 20th century. Gabo became one of its impassioned advocates, co writing the *Realistic Manifesto* in 1920 with his brother, Antoine Pevsner, which espoused the tenets of pure constructivism. A range of Gabo's trailblazing sculptures, paintings, drawings and architectural designs are on display at Tate St Ives.

Lovers of pop art may want to head to Tate Modern, which is hosting an exhibition dedicated to Andy Warhol, until 15 November. Promising a fresh peek into "the extraordinary life and work of the pop art superstar", the exhibition will feature a tantalising mix of Warhol's most recognisable paintings – think brightly coloured prints of Marilyn Monroe and Campbell's soup cans – as well as works that have never before been displayed in England.

For those who prefer art of a more historical nature, Tate Britain's collection of British art from 1540 to 1890 is opening its doors once more to visitors. Containing a multitude of galleries, this collection route will take you on a journey through 300 years of breathtaking British art. Particular standouts include Sir John Everett Millais' 'Ophelia': a pre Raphaelite painting that's inspired by Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

If you're interested in visiting any of the Tate galleries, you must pre book your ticket. One way systems are in operation in all venues, and you can only pay by card at this time. Cloakrooms and lockers are currently closed.

WHEN VISITING MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES, PLEASE FOLLOW OFFICIAL SOCIAL DISTANCING GUIDELINES
DETAILS ACCURATE AT TIME OF WRITING – CHECK INDIVIDUAL WEBSITES FOR UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION BEFORE TRAVELLING

TATE 2020 X3, MAX MCCLURE X1, BCLM X1, HRP X1, NATIONAL MUSEUMS LIVERPOOL X1

The SS *Great Britain*, known for its innovative design, is opening her decks once more

WHAT'S OPEN
✔ Takeaway kiosk
✔ Toilets ✔ Car park

SS Great Britain

BRISTOL

bit.ly/3fMzUfl

The SS *Great Britain* is a great nautical alternative to the traditional museum. The ship, launched in 1843, was designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel, who favoured innovation over tradition in his groundbreaking vessel. Rather than fitting it with the paddle wheels that powered most ships of the time, Brunel favoured an innovative screw propeller – then maritime technology's most recent invention. Working as an ocean liner and then a cargo ship until the end of its working life in 1933. The SS *Great Britain* was refloated in 1970 and towed back to Bristol, its birthplace.

Today, the ship and its accompanying dockyard and museum are open to visitors. You can stand on the SS *Great Britain*'s impressive decks and venture into the bowels of the ship to peer into steerage or marvel at the opulent dining saloon. You must pre book your ticket, and please be aware that some areas remain closed.

Tower of London

WHAT'S OPEN
✔ Toilets

LONDON

bit.ly/2OF9Oiy

The Tower of London is one of the capital's most renowned historical buildings. It's seen a colourful cast of prisoners over the centuries, from the young Princess Elizabeth, who was thrown in the Tower by her half sister, Queen Mary I, to John Balliol, a Scottish king who brought a household of servants into the Tower with him.

Nowadays, the building is packed with visitors rather than the country's most dangerous political prisoners. The White Tower is particularly popular, being home to the Royal Armouries collections including the 350 year old Line of Kings display, featuring King Henry VIII's armour.

Visitors can also head to Jewel House and marvel at the Crown Jewels. Some of the staggering 23,578 gemstones that make up the collection are still worn by the Queen.

The site is open from Wednesday to Sunday, but some parts of the Tower remain closed. Booking is essential.

The Tower of London's White Tower, built in 1066, is currently home to the Royal Armouries collections and the Line of Kings exhibition

Black Country Living Museum

DUDLEY

bit.ly/2WDG7ms

WHAT'S OPEN
✔ Toilets ✔ Car park
✔ Takeaway food and drink service (including fish and chip shop & outdoor pub yard)

Have you ever wanted to step back in time? A visit to the Black Country Living Museum is likely as close to time travel as you can get. The area rose to prominence in the Industrial Revolution, when it became one of the country's most industrialised areas; factories filled the air with choking black smog, and coal mines riddled the ground below. The region's last mine closed in 1968, but traditional ways of life have been preserved by the Black Country Living Museum.

The museum's 26 acres are home to over 40 historical buildings, from a brass foundry and workers' cottages to a fish and chip shop. Historical characters are always on hand to tell you more about what life in the Black Country was like. The site is reopening in phases from 1 August.

The living museum has a canal, boat dock, coal mine and more

World Museum

LIVERPOOL

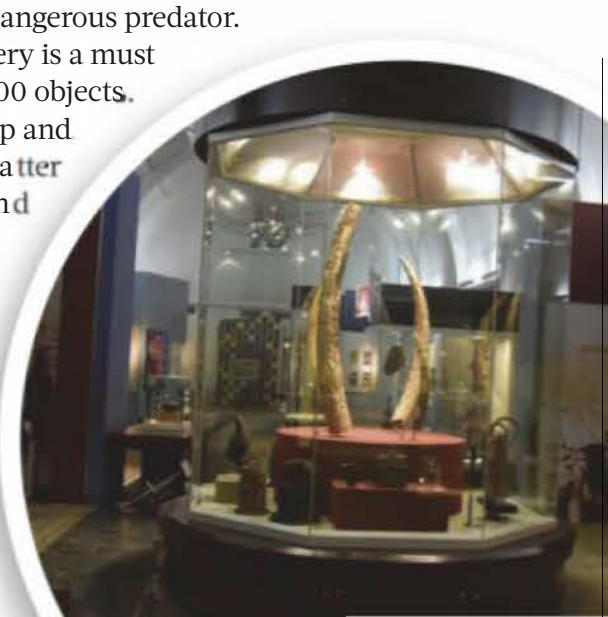
bit.ly/3eLKsu3

WHAT'S OPEN
✔ Toilets ✔ Shops ✔ Café

Anyone who has even a passing interest in world history will be fascinated by Liverpool's World Museum, which reopened its doors on 15 July. Boasting an exceptionally wide-ranging collection, visitors can examine Ancient Egyptian papyrus from the 11th century BC – constituting the only written record of tomb robbers at work in the Valley of the Kings – and marvel at the cast of an Allosaurus dinosaur skeleton, the Jurassic period's most dangerous predator.

The World Cultures gallery is a must see, containing over 1,600 objects.

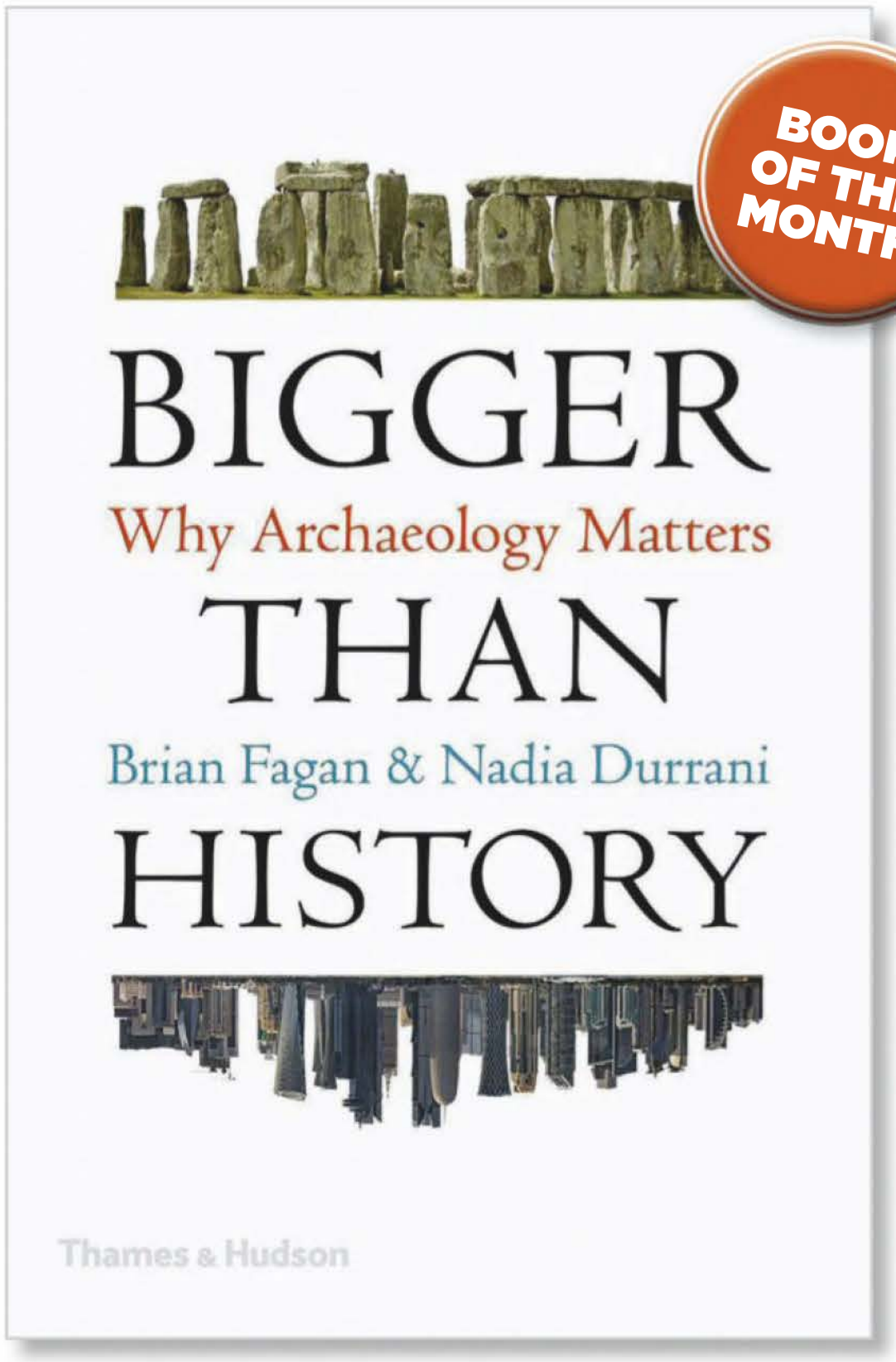
The ground-floor shop and café are open, with the latter serving takeaway food and drink options. Please note that booking is essential for your visit.



The World Cultures gallery contains artefacts from across the globe

BOOKS & AUDIO BOOKS

THIS MONTH'S BEST HISTORICAL READS AND LISTENS



Bigger than History: Why Archaeology Matters

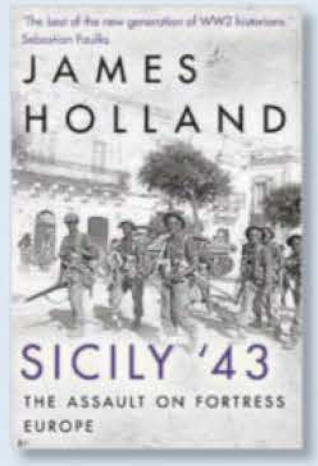
By Brian Fagan and Nadia Durrani
Thames and Hudson, £12.95, paperback, 144 pages

If archaeology can sometimes seem a little distant, a little dry, then this book is here to make us think again. It compellingly explores what the discipline can tell us about a range of 21st century concerns, from climate change to gender identity, as well as the ways it can illuminate the forgotten stories of people outside of the privileged realms of courts and castles. Having established its vitality, the authors then sketch out the challenges facing archaeologists as they carry out their work. Eye-opening stuff.

Sicily '43: The First Assault on Fortress Europe

By James Holland
Bantam Press, £25, hardback, 640 pages

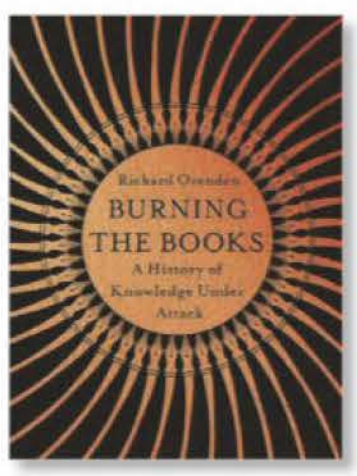
As World War II raged, the Axis occupied island of Sicily became strategically vital due to its position in the all important Mediterranean sea lanes. The Allied effort to recapture it, in July 1943, required the largest seaborne landing in history and a brutal 38 day battle against the odds. Endlessly enthusiastic historian James Holland is on fine form in this account of a major turning point in the conflict.

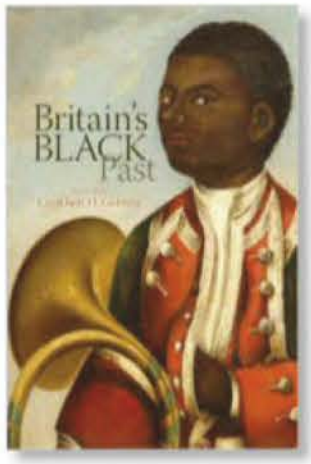


Burning the Books: A History of Knowledge Under Attack

By Richard Ovenden
John Murray, £20, hardback, 320 pages

Richard Ovenden knows something about the power of knowledge: he's responsible for the University of Oxford's Bodleian Library, one of Europe's oldest book repositories. Here, he celebrates the vital role played throughout history by those who protect information and the dangers posed by those who would destroy it. Visiting Ancient Egypt, medieval England, Nazi Germany and Trump's America along the way, this is a spirited defence of libraries, archives, and free access to the truth.





Britain's Black Past

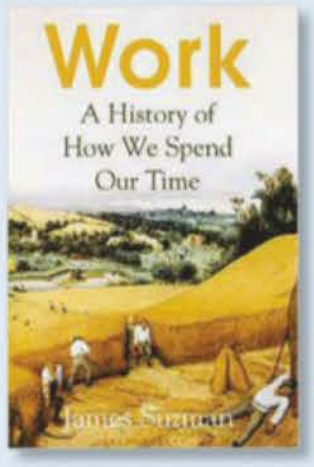
Edited by Gretchen H Gerzina
Liverpool University Press, £24.95, paperback, 304 pages

This summer's Black Lives Matter protests served as a fresh reminder of the vital importance of exploring black histories. As this edited collection which has its roots in a 2016 BBC Radio 4 series of the same name makes clear, it's a field packed with fascinating characters and untold stories. Enslaved people escape their captors; women rise through the ranks of well to do households; a wealthy landowner becomes Britain's first black sheriff. Some of the chapters are a little scholarly, but these remain rich, diverse accounts. Listen to the BBC Radio 4 series at *bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07yvszg*

Work: A History of How We Spend Our Time

By James Suzman
Bloomsbury, £25, hardback, 352 pages

From furloughing to the challenges of juggling a job with childcare, the past few months have brought the concept of work/life balance to the fore. This history of how we spend our time is particularly apt, but it's also a fascinating deep dive into the past in its own right. From the ancient, time saving power of fire, to the shock of the Industrial Revolution, it's an absorbing look at how we arrived at the career-focused societies of today.



Feeding the People: The Politics of the Potato

By Rebecca Earle
Cambridge University Press, £17.99, hardback, 308 pages

Given the current ubiquity of the potato, it's easy to forget that, before the 16th century, it would have seemed an exotic delicacy to all but a fraction of the world's population. The story of how it rose to worldwide dominance, via the sweeping forces of colonisation, colonialism and industrialisation, mean that what could be at first glance a niche history actually has revealing things to say about the course of global history. Not bad for the humble spud!

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HistoryExtra Podcast

Each month we bring you three of our favourite interviews from the HistoryExtra podcast archives...

THIS MONTH... three podcasts on World War I social history

World War One at home

bit.ly/2B760sc

The conflict that engulfed much of the world from 1914 to 1918 had a huge military cost but it also reshaped British society forever. In this podcast from 2018, historian Maggie Andrews considers how civilian life changed as World War I reached its final stages.

The global First World War

bit.ly/397pTam

Just as World War I reshaped Britain, the arrival in Europe of people from all over the world to fight in the conflict changed the face of the continent. Historian and broadcaster David Olusoga is typically thought provoking in this 2014 interview, which tied in with his TV series *The World's War*.

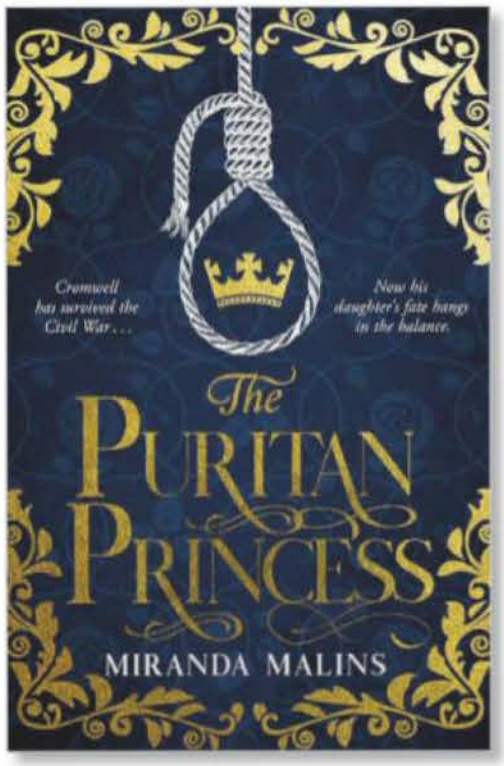
War trauma

bit.ly/3fGJ8dh

Although not restricted to World War I, this 2019 exploration of war trauma has interesting things to say about the often shattering effects on the mental health of its participants. Dr Emma Butcher and Dr Hannah Partis Jennings also compare it with more recent conflicts, including Iraq and Afghanistan.

GETTY IMAGES X2

HISTORICAL FICTION....



The Puritan Princess

By Miranda Malins
Orion Publishing, hardback, £20.99

In 1657, Frances, the youngest daughter of Oliver Cromwell, is thrust into the heart of political life in London. As her father rises to the position of Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, her life is transformed. A romantic at heart with humble country beginnings, she is whisked into the palaces of London and a life of luxury. When her father is offered the crown, Frances becomes an important pawn in her family's dynastic legacy. As life for the Cromwells becomes increasingly dangerous, Frances must decide who will be in charge of her fate.

Excerpt

Frances Cromwell and her sisters attend their father's execution

The people are solemn, watchful, nervous.

For this is no ordinary execution. This crowd has come to witness something grotesque; an act outside the conventions of normal society, a violation of God's law, a performance of pure, visceral vengeance by their so-called 'merry monarch'. This would be a traitors' death for men beyond the reach of the law, beyond the reach even of the king; a second death for men already with God. For these prisoners are already dead.

They are not living men that the hangman and his assistants now unstrap from the hurdle and haul upright to stand, propped awkwardly beneath each noose, wrapped in their death shrouds. They are corpses, disturbed from their consecrated sleep, taken from their allotted square of earth. Robbed from their Christian graves.

John Bradshaw, president of the court that tried the young Charles Stuart's father, the tyrant King Charles.

Henry Ireton, Bridget's husband and the fiercest, cleverest man in Father's army.

And Father, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell.

Q&A
Miranda Malins

Miranda Malins is a historian and writer who specialises in the life of Oliver Cromwell and the Interregnum period. Miranda also works as a commercial solicitor in London and is a Trustee of the Cromwell Association. *The Puritan Princess* is her debut novel.

What were the biggest misconceptions about Oliver Cromwell that you found during your research?
That Cromwell was a militant, joyless Puritan who killed the king, cancelled Christmas and got his kicks from pulling down maypoles. Cromwell was remarkably tolerant for his time, loved lively debate and rarely sought to impose his views on others. He was at heart a family man who enjoyed drinking and music. He presided over a colourful civilian court where Puritan rules relaxed and the arts flourished.

What made you take the leap into fiction and how different was writing this compared to non-fiction?
I wanted to write about the women in Cromwell's family. While they appear in historical accounts, it's only at the margins. Fiction gave me the freedom to recreate their relationships and imagine their perspectives on the events they experienced. I had to retrain myself from depending on footnotes; soften myself from the rigour of pin-pointing academic 'truth' into the creativity of moulding the past to reveal its best stories; and find new voices.

What is it about the Cromwells that attracts you?
The Cromwell family fascinate me because their experience is unique. They lived ordinary lives in fenland obscurity before Oliver's startling ascent during the British Civil Wars propelled them into power as a new quasi-royal family. Not only is this vital period arguably the least well-understood time in British history, but any focus has been on Oliver. Yet, through his children, the Cromwells looked set to become Britain's new ruling dynasty.

Why did you decide to focus your novel on Frances?
Frances leapt off the page for me. Her story is instantly gripping: the way her marriage prospects were bound up in the greatest political question of her day – whether Cromwell should become king – and her experience of life at court. As the youngest of Cromwell's children, she lived most closely with him while he was Lord Protector and the family's fall from power would have hit her particularly hard as she could hardly remember normal life.

Will you continue writing historical fiction?
I'm addicted now. I'm writing a prequel charting Cromwell's rise during the British Civil Wars through the eyes of his eldest daughter Bridget. The 17th century is my passion and I'm keen to explore it from as many perspectives as I can.

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LETTERS

THE ADVENTURES OF ABUBAKARI II
The 14th-century emperor of Mali renounced his throne to explore the blue expanse of the Atlantic, but what became of him?
Pat Kinsella traces his myth and legend
52
THE KOREAN WAR
Seventy years on, Charlotte Hodgman explores images of the bloody conflict that engulfed the Korean peninsula

A THOUSAND WORDS

I came across Sue Gent's stunning illustration of Abubakari II (*The Adventures of Abubakari II*, February 2020) after searching for images online. You cannot imagine how happy I am to see such a fabulous illustration!

I was born in Mali but am now based in Chicago. As a Keita, I am a Malinke (or Mandingo) and a descendant of Abubakari II. I have two toddlers with whom I have been talking about our culture and our legendary kings, such as Mansa Musa and Mansa Abubakari II. Inevitably, the kids nag me to see a 'photo' of either man, and for a long time I was not impressed with many of the drawings out there, especially those of Abubakari II, which are rare. Yours hit it out of the park!

Mohamed H Keita, by email

COUNTERFACTUAL HISTORY

I'm currently reading the August issue – very informative and interesting as usual, especially the the Norman Conquest and Sergeant Stubby features. I find the 'What If …' pieces fascinating, and the list of possible subjects is endless: what if Harold had defeated William in 1066; what if Richard III had won at Bosworth Field, what if Queen Anne had had a child who survived to carry on the Stuart line, etc?

Barrie Vinten,
Warwickshire

OUT OF KOREA

The face of the doleful young girl carrying her little brother before the tank that featured in the Korean War feature in the August issue needed no assistance of words, with a surge of the pathos of child refugees who were forced to grow up fast in the reality of war. Wondering about their whereabouts now, I imagined what could have been if my own mother's family had not safely crossed the 38th parallel from the communist-controlled North in the wake of the Korean War, 70 years ago this year.

My mother's family owned farmland and were third-generation Catholics in North Korea. They crossed the border in a small vessel they had employed during the Third Battle of Seoul [December 1950–January 1951]. My mother and uncle were about the ages of the siblings in the picture shown on the opening pages of the feature (*shown above*).

The powerful, emotive image of the little Korean siblings attests to the atrocity of war that forfeits the innocence of the childhood that every child in the world should have.

Stephanie Suh, California

CROSSWORD WINNERS

The lucky winners of the crossword from issue 82 are:

R Fraser, Ross-shire
R Honeybone, West Sussex
B Fellows, Warwickshire

Congratulations! You've each won a DVD copy of *Hell on the Border* (Lionsgate UK)

Please note, there will be a delay in posting your prize due to the current coronavirus crisis.

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CROSSWORD & PUZZLES

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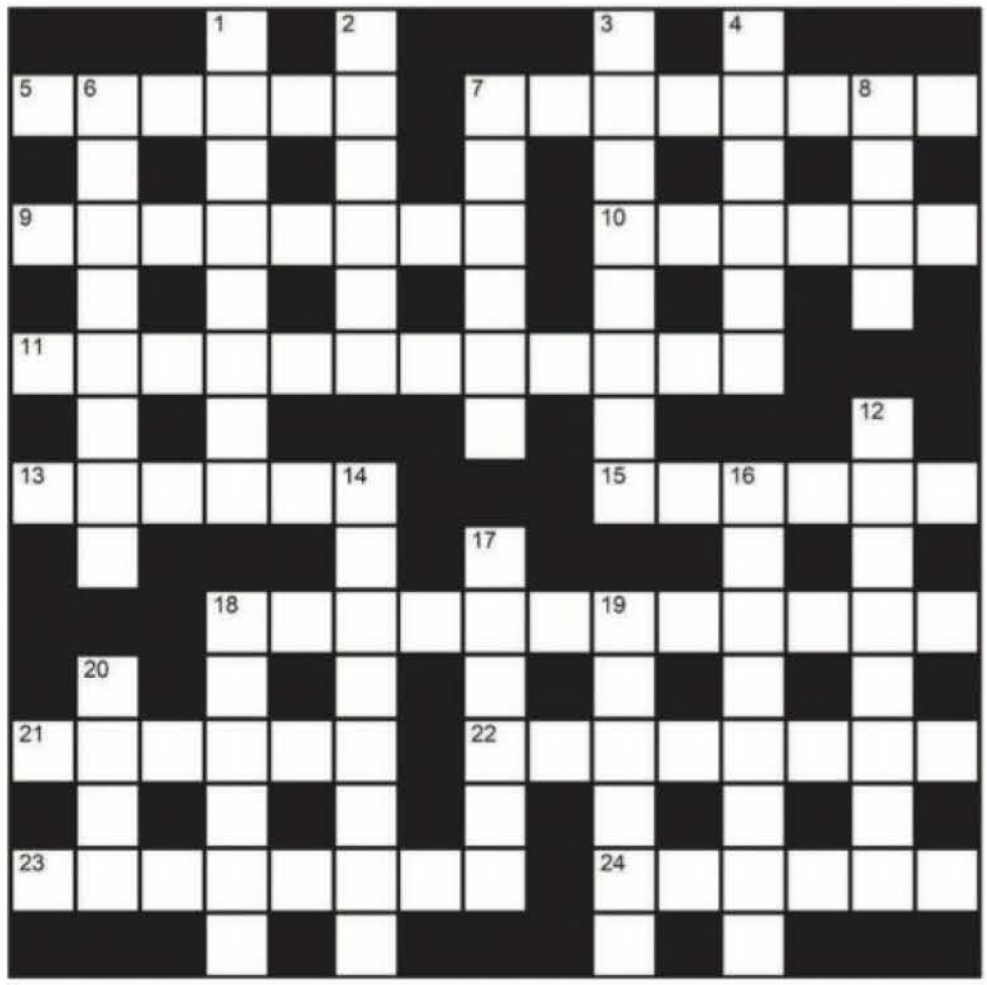
CROSSWORD No. 85

Test your history knowledge to solve our prize puzzle – and you could win a fantastic new book



Set by Richard Smyth

ACROSS

5 Pacific island visited by HMS *Bounty* in 1788 (6)
7 City in Kashmir, under Mughal rule in the late Middle Ages (8)
9 Battle of 490 BCE (8)
10 1959 film, winner of 11 Oscars (3-3)
11 English poet and librarian (1922–85) (6,6)
13 "We are not ___" – Queen Victoria (apocryphally) (6)
15 Absurdist 1896 play by Alfred Jarry (3,3)
18 *The Mayor Of* ___, 1886 Thomas Hardy novel (12)
21 City of Ancient Greece (now Izmir in Turkey) (6)
22 "Oh, the ___" – Herbert Morrison, commentating on the Hindenburg disaster in 1937 (8)
23 Battle of 18 June 1815 (8)
24 Purported author of an epic poem cycle published from 1760 (6)

DOWN

1 'Of ___', chapter of David Hume's *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) (8)
2 Elizabeth ___ (1911–79), US poet (6)
3 Ancient city of Mali (8)
4 Early form of field artillery (6)
6 Excommunication from a religion (8)
7 Bloody ___, massacre in Derry on 30 January 1972 (6)
8 Major deity of Ancient Egypt (4)
12 Scene of the crucifixion of Christ (8)
14 Benjamin ___ (1804–81), statesman and novelist (8)
16 Democratic ___ Party, Northern Irish political organisation founded in 1971 (8)
17 ___ Tull (1674–1741), inventor of the horse-drawn seed drill (6)
18 1875 opera by Georges Bizet (6)
19 ___ Curtain, term for the border between Communist and non-Communist east Asia (6)
20 1815 Jane Austen novel (4)

CHANCE TO WIN

BOOK WORTH £25 FOR THREE WINNERS

The World Aflame: The Long War, 1914-1945
Dan Jones and Marina Amaral

HOW TO ENTER

Post entries to **BBC History Revealed, September 2020 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester LE94 0AA** or email them to **september2020@historyrevealedcomps.co.uk** by noon on **1 October 2020**.

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SOLUTION Nº 83

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The closing date and time is as shown under **How to Enter**, above. Entries received after that will not be considered. Entries cannot be returned. Entrants must supply full name, address and daytime phone number. Immediate Media Company (publishers of ***BBC History Revealed***) will only ever use personal details for the purposes of administering this competition, and will not publish them or provide them to anyone without permission. Read more about the Immediate Privacy Policy at www.immediatemedia.co.uk/privacy-policy.

The winning entrants will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. The prize and number of winners will be as shown on the Crossword page. There is no cash alternative and the prize will not be transferable. Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited's decision is final and no correspondence relating to the competition will be entered into. The winners will be notified by post within 28 days of the close of the competition. The name and county of residence of the winners will be published in the magazine within two months of the closing date.

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THE VICTORIANS

Travel back to the 19th century with our essential guide to all things Victorian – from empire and conflict, to royalty and railways

PLUS...

WHAT IF THE ROMANOVS HAD SURVIVED IN 1918? AFRICAN QUEEN NZINGA OF NDONGO **WALTER RALEIGH'S EXECUTION** POSTCARDS FROM THE PAST: THE RESULTS **IN A NUTSHELL: THE ANARCHY** WORLD WAR TWO BATTLES **AND MUCH MORE...**

BBC HISTORY REVEALED

GETTY IMAGES X1

PHOTO FINISH

ARRESTING IMAGES FROM THE ANNALS OF THE PAST

EGYPTIAN WOMEN UNDERGO WEAPONS TRAINING 1956

Since 1951, the area around Egypt's Suez Canal had become a guerilla war zone. The Egyptian government had renounced a treaty that allowed Britain to keep troops at the canal; Britain refused to remove its forces. Tensions ramped up a level in 1956 after Britain, Israel and France launched an attack on the canal after its nationalisation. Many Egyptians, both men and women, joined the resistance against what they saw as an imperialist invasion. These women are taking part in a drill camp in Cairo where they are learning how to use submachine guns. Groups including the Women's Popular Resistance Committee taught women key skills, from fighting to nursing the wounded, during the conflict.

GETTY IMAGES

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'Beautifully but shamefully printed up'. Reading the erotic in sixteenth century book culture
Lecture by Linda Grant

08 SEPT

'Three weeks in this seventh heaven of a place': Edward Burne-Jones's 1871 Italian Sketchbook
Lecture by Mark Stocker FSA

06 OCT

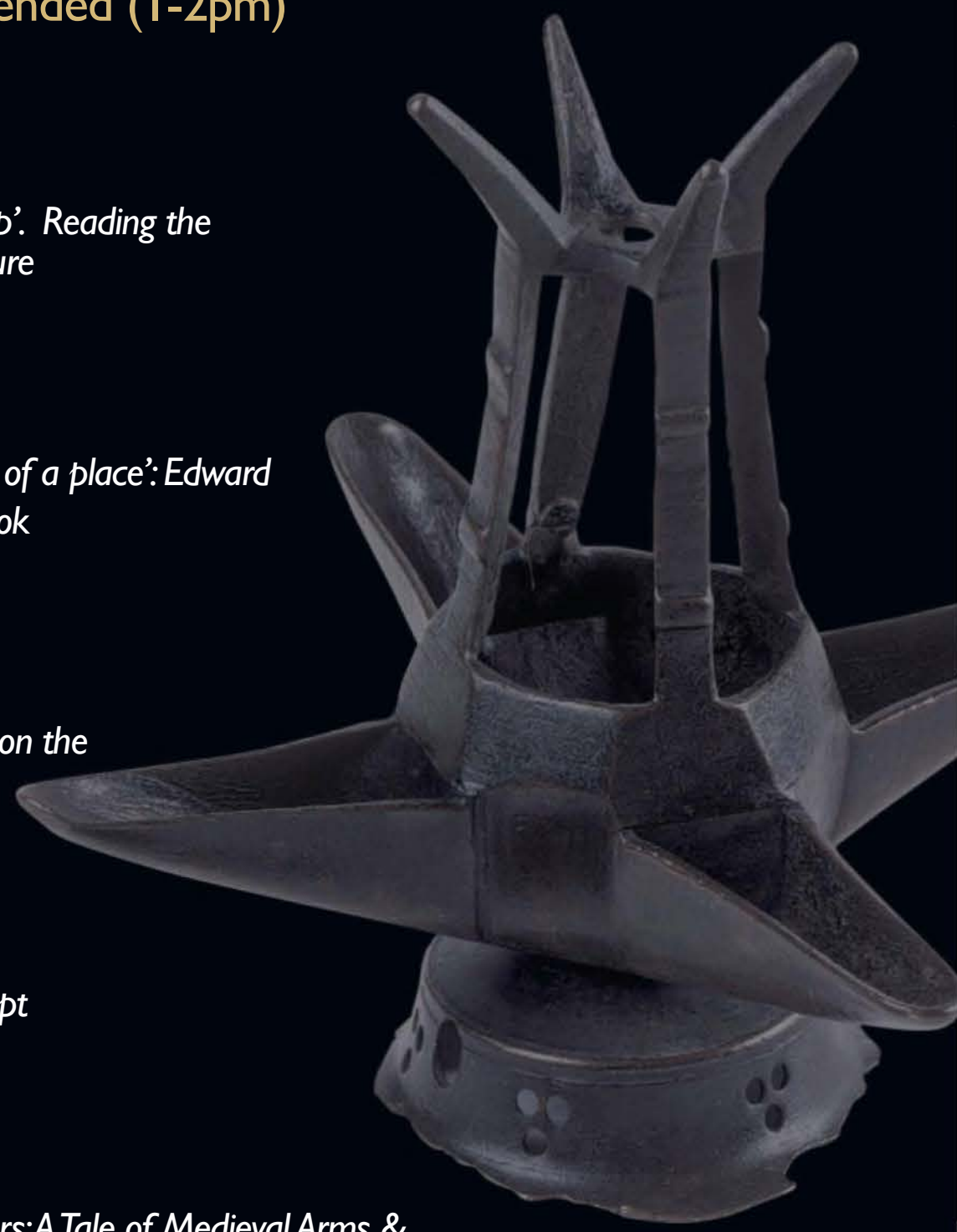
The Battle of Brunanburh: new light on the 'Great War' of the Tenth Century.
Lecture by Michael Wood FSA

03 NOV

Nefertiti: Queen and Pharaoh of Egypt
Lecture by Aidan Dodson FSA

01 DEC

Wee Willie & the King's Silver Trousers: A Tale of Medieval Arms & Armour from the Society of Antiquaries Library
Lecture by Ralph Moffat



Lamp of Knowlege
Medieval Jewish sabbath lamp, adopted as the Society's emblem

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